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EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN POLAND

Barbara Liberska

A STUDY PREPARED FOR THE
CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON POLICY STUDIES
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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by Barbara Liberska

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Education and Youth Employment in Contemporary Societies

A Series of Special Studies

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Foreword

This is one of seven publications presenting studies commissioned by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education as a means of providing a global perspective for education and youth employment in contemporary societies. The remaining publications will be concerned with education and youth employment in Belgium, by Henri Janne; Mexico and South Asia, by Alberto Hernández Medina and Carlos Muñoz Izquierdo and Manzoor Ahmed, respectively; Great Britain, by Stuart Maclure; Sweden and Denmark, by Gösta Rehn and K. Helveg Petersen, respectively; Japan, by Hidetoshi Kato, and The Federal Republic of Germany by Klaus von Dohnanyi. Margaret S. Gordon, associate director of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, is the general editor of the series. To the authors of these studies, and to Barbara Liberska, whose work appears in this volume, we express our deep appreciation.

The German Marshall Fund generously provided support for two international conferences on education and youth employment which were attended by several of the authors of studies for this series and which have contributed significantly to the Council's deliberations on this subject. The International Council for Educational Development, under the direction of James A. Perkins, arranged for the participation of the essayists in this project. We acknowledge these contributions with profound thanks.

We also wish to extend our thanks to Mary Purnell Frederick and Diana Lorentz for their editorial contributions, and Sylvia Zuck for coordinating manuscript preparation.

CLARK KERR
Chairman,
Carnegie Council on Policy Studies
in Higher Education

1

Polish Youth in Perspective

The education and employment of youth were Poland's main socioeconomic problems in the 1960s. Their significance was due to the demographic situation at that time, characterized on the one hand by the baby-boom generation entering the labor force and on the other by the dynamic economic growth of the country that caused an increased demand for qualified labor. The issues of primary importance became the provision of places in schools, provision of new jobs, and opportunities for training in industrial enterprises for several million young people. Various government organizations as well as social and state institutions were put in charge of developing guidelines for youth education and employment policies.

First of all, detailed analyses of changes in the demographic structure of youth were made, taking into account numerous socioeconomic aspects of the transition into adulthood of several age groups from the post-World-War II baby boom. The analyses revealed the education and job orientation of youth as well as indicating appropriate guidelines for actions through which the state could influence the appropriate adjustment of educational trends and utilization of young people's qualifications in the socioeconomic development of the country.

Definitions and Categories of Youth

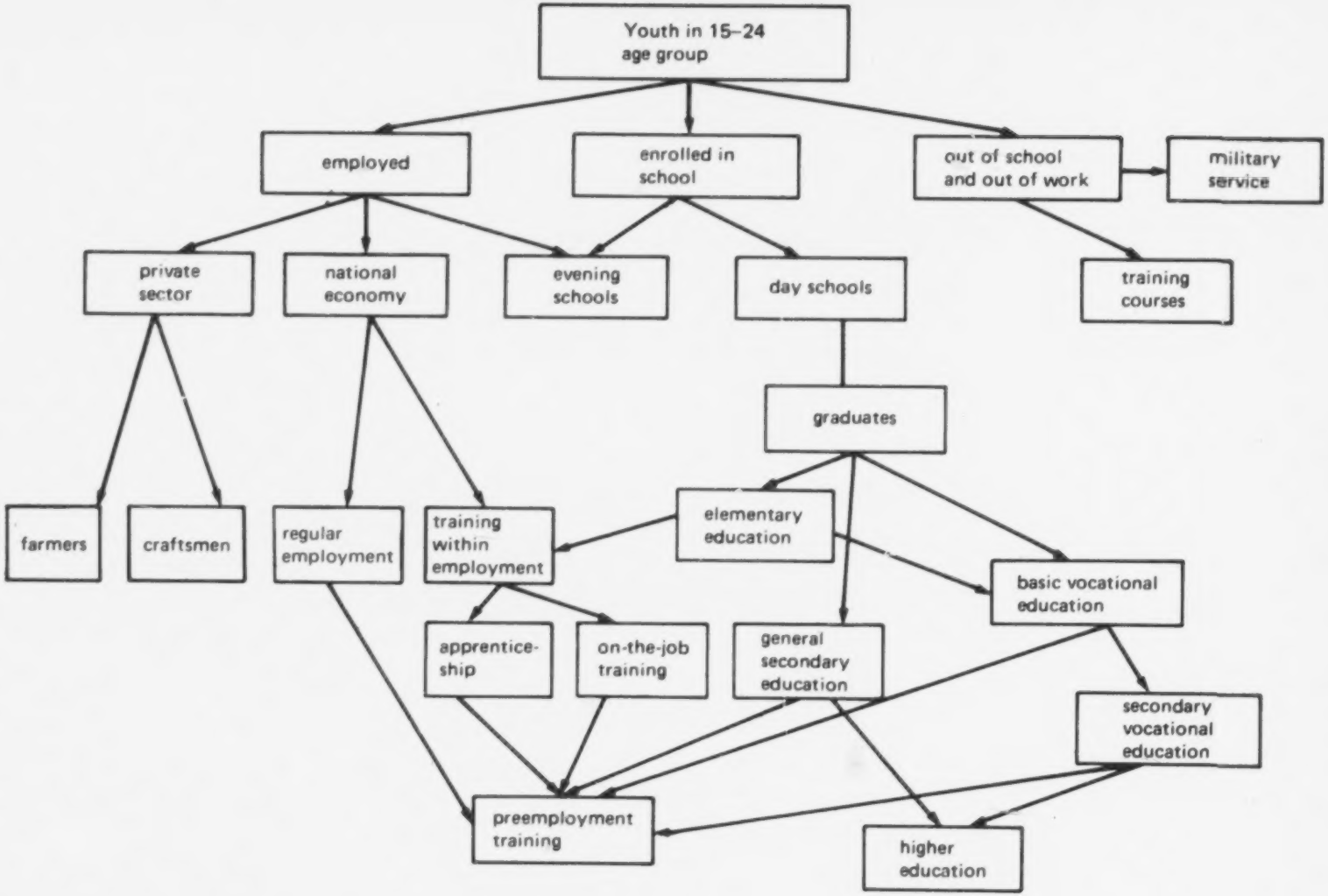
A number of definitions of youth can be given, taking into account legal, social, biological, or economic aspects of this population group. Most generally speaking, youth consists of those people who aim at leading independent lives through acquiring education and a job. They seek the material, cultural, and social independence that will enable them to make their own life decisions, assume particular social responsibilities, and find their places in society.

In Poland, more than 90 percent of youth aged 15 have completed compulsory education, and more than half of them set up their own families by the age of 25. Therefore, we shall discuss here the transition into adulthood of the age group 15 to 24. Let us consider the life situations in which young people 15 to 24 find themselves. Once they have completed compulsory elementary education at the age of 15, they can take up further education, enter on-the-job training, or remain dependent on their parents (Figure 1). In more detail:

1. They can continue education in:
   (a) basic vocational schools (15- to 18-year-olds)
   (b) secondary vocational schools (15- to 20-year-olds)
   (c) general secondary schools (15- to 19-year-olds)
   (d) postsecondary schools (19- to 21-year-olds)
   (e) higher education institutions—universities and polytechnics (19- to 24-year-olds)
2. They can take up work:
   (a) apprenticeship (15- to 18-year-olds)
   (b) on-the-job training (15- to 18-year-olds)
   (c) work accompanied by specialized training
3. They can start work while still attending regular evening schools.
4. They can stay out of work and out of school and remain dependent on their parents.
5. Males can complete two years of compulsory military service (19- to 23-year-olds).

Because of the significant role of youth in the future socioeconomic growth of the country, the state tries to create favorable

Figure 1.


Youth in 15–24 age group
employed
enrolled in school
out of school and out of work
military service
private sector
national economy
evening schools
day schools
training courses
graduates
farmers
craftsmen
regular employment
training within employment
elementary education
basic vocational education
apprentice-ship
on-the-job training
general secondary education
secondary vocational education
preemployment training
higher education

conditions under which they can enter social and professional life. The social policy of the state aims at:

- enabling youth leaving elementary schools to continue education by creating a complex system of secondary and vocational education;
- enabling youth to take up the right job at the right time by providing a sufficient number of new jobs and opportunities of employment in accordance with educational attainments;
- developing various forms of social services for young married couples (flats, nurseries, kindergartens, maternity leaves, and so on).

Legal Basis for the Transition into Adulthood

Age is the legal basis for recognition of the transition from adolescence to adult life and is expressed in various national legal systems. The border between adolescence and adulthood may be legally determined by admittance of those of a certain age to: (1) full responsibility for legal acts (civil law); (2) admittance to political rights (constitutional right to vote); (3) recognition of criminal offenses (criminal law); (4) legal right to enter a contract for employment (Employment Act); (5) legal right to marry (Family Act); or (6) compulsory military service.

According to Polish civil law, every citizen on reaching the age of 18 is responsible for legal actions—that is, can make and receive binding voluntary declarations. The Constitution of 1952 gives everyone 18 or over the right to vote for the *Seym* (diet) and *Rady Narodowe* (national councils). Full legal age embodied in civil law differs from that in criminal law, according to which responsibility starts at 17 years of age.

According to the Polish Employment Act, people 15 to 18 may accept contracts to work and may be employed in special cases in order to learn an occupation and obtain training in a particular kind of work, such as serving an apprenticeship under regulated working hours and conditions. Employment of those under 15 years of age is prohibited. Adult labor regulations are obligatory from 18 years of age on.

The Polish Family Act of 1965 has specified the age at which matrimony may be contracted as 18 years for women

and 21 years for men. In special cases, with the consent of the legal guardians, it is possible to lower this limit to 16 years for women and 18 years for men.

The law also defines, in accordance with the constitution, the regulations concerning the general duty of military service, including army registration, recruitment, and actual service. Military service in general is compulsory for 24 months in the regular army or 36 months in the navy for men between 19 and 24 years of age. In certain cases (for example, during a shortage of labor) military service may be postponed. During their service, the recruits are on leave from their employers, who are at the same time obliged to accept them back again in the same or an equivalent position on their return. The syllabus of higher education institutions includes army training for students.

Demographic Structure of Youth 15 to 24 Years Old

Youth as a percentage of total population. Young people between 15 and 24 years of age constituted 14 percent of the Polish population in 1960; by 1965 their number had grown to 16.5 percent; and in 1973 it exceeded 20 percent (Table 1). In 1975, youth in this age group continued to constitute one-fifth of the population.

In terms of numbers, the youthful population nearly doubled between 1960 and 1975, growing from 4 million in 1960 to 7.5 million in 1975. During the same period, the total population grew by only 14 percent—from 29.5 million to 34 million. The group of 15- to 18-year-olds increased by more than 50 percent in the years 1960–1965, while 19- to 24-year-olds increased by about 40 percent in the years 1965–1970. (Data for 1975 are not shown in Table 1.)

Such a great increase in the number of young people in that period was a consequence of the post-World-War II baby boom and high birth rate in the years 1949–1959. The baby-boom generation was flowing through the elementary schools in the late 1950s and especially between 1961 and 1967. Many new schools were built to accommodate all children. This was achieved, among other things, through implementation of the

Table 1. Changes in total population and population in youthful age groups, selected years, 1960–1973 (numbers in thousands)

	Total population		*15–18 years*			*19–24 years*			*15–24 years*		
Year	*Number*	*Percentage Change*	*Number*	*Percentage Change*	*Percentage of total Population*	*Number*	*Percentage Change*	*Percentage of total Population*	*Number*	*Percentage Change*	*Percentage of total Population*
1960	29,561		1,695		5.7%	2,527		8.5%	4,222		14.2%
1965	31,496	6.5%	2,598	53.3%	8.2	2,627	4.0%	8.3	5,225	23.8%	16.5
1970	32,526	3.3	2,802	7.9	8.6	3,635	38.4	11.2	6,437	23.2	19.8
1973	33,363	2.6	2,819	0.6	8.4	4,008	10.3	12.0	6,827	6.1	20.4
1960–1973		12.9		66.3			58.6			61.7	

program called "A Thousand Schools for the Millenium of the Polish State." (In 1966, Poland celebrated the 1000th anniversary of its existence).

Between 1965 and 1973, the baby-boom generation was in the secondary schools and entering employment. The demographic situation called for further development of various forms of postelementary education, particularly with regard to job training. To diminish the pressure of youth on the labor market and on secondary schools, the elementary school period was prolonged by one year in 1967. At the same time, some 1.5 million new jobs were provided in the years 1966–1970 and another 1.5 million in 1971–1975. More than 85 percent of youth continued education after elementary school.

Another result of the high birth rate was an increase of 5 million people entering the labor force between 1960 and 1975, the annual average increase being over 300,000. The years from 1973 to 1980 are those in which the main pressure of youth on higher education institutions has been felt and is expected to continue.

Ages 15 to 19 and 20 to 24.

1. Structure by sex. Women constituted 49.5 percent of the 15-to-19 age group in 1960. Their proportion declined to 49.2 percent and 49.0 percent in 1965 and 1975, respectively. For the age group 20 to 24, the figures were 50.7 percent in 1960, 49.3 percent in 1970, and 49.1 percent in 1975, indicating a slight predominance of males in the 15-to-24 age group as a whole (Table 2).

2. Structure by place of residence. In the 1960s, about 51 percent of 15- to 19-year-olds and about 47 percent of 20- to 24-year-olds lived in rural areas. Due to increased migration of youth in the 1960s and 1970s, a significant number of young people moved from rural areas to the urban ones. In 1975, some 64 percent of youth 20 to 24 and over 50 percent of those 15 to 19 lived in cities. Thus urban youth predominated in the 1970s (Table 3).

Between 1966 and 1970, some 30,000 young people 15 to 17 and over 200,000 18- to 24-year-olds migrated from rural

Table 2. Women as a percentage of people 15 to 19 and 20 to 24, selected years, 1960–1975 (numbers in thousands)

	15–19 years			*20–24 years*		
Year	*All people*	*Women*	*Women as percentage of total*	*All people*	*Women*	*Women as percentage of total*
1960	1,934	958	49.5%	2,209	1,119	50.7%
1965	3,024	1,485	49.2	1,913	968	50.6
1970	3,479	1,706	49.1	2,958	1,459	49.3
1975	3,373	1,653	49.0	3,454	1,697	49.1

Table 3. Urban residents as a percentage of people 15 to 19 and 20 to 24, selected years, 1960–1975 (numbers in thousands)

	15–19 years			*20–24 years*		
Year	*All people*	*Urban residents*	*Urban residents as percentage of total*	*All people*	*Urban residents*	*Urban residents as percentage of total*
1960	1,934	993	51.3%	2,209	1,162	52.6%
1965	3,024	1,434	47.4	1,913	1,068	55.8
1970	3,479	1,978	56.8	2,958	1,679	56.7
1975	3,373	1,694	50.2	3,454	2,215	64.1

Table 4. Projected size of the population 15 to 17 and 18 to 24, selected years, 1975–2000 (numbers in thousands)

	Number		*Index (1970 = 100)*		*Percentage of population aged 0 to 29*	
Year	*15–17*	*18–24*	*15–17*	*18–24*	*15–17*	*18–24*
1975	1,979	4,880	94.1	113.6	11.0%	27.3%
1980	1,604	4,515	76.3	105.1	9.0	25.4
1985	1,509	3,739	71.8	86.9	8.8	21.7
1990	1,680	3,560	79.9	82.9	10.4	22.1
2000	1,704	4,124	81.1	96.0	11.0	26.6

areas to urban centers. Over 70,000 youth migrated annually from rural areas to cities.

3. Structure by marital status. Over 99 percent of the boys and some 95 percent of the girls 15 to 19 are single. More than one-half of women and 25 percent of the men 20 to 24 get married. In 1966, the median age of marriage was 22 years for women and 25 years for men. By 1975, the age had fallen to 21 years for women and 24 years for men (the median age of marriage in rural areas being slightly higher). In 1975, 60 percent of the newlyweds were below 24 years of age.

The rate of births for women 15 to 24 has dropped over the past 15 years. In 1960, it was 93 per 1000 women; by 1970, it had dropped to 64; and by 1975 it had risen again to 71. The rate of births was higher in rural areas than in the urban ones.

4. Demographic forecasts. The number of 15- to 19-year-olds is expected to drop by 250,000 between 1975 and 1980, reflecting the sharp drop in birth rates since 1964. After 1980, the number of 18- to 24-year-olds is expected to drop drastically—by nearly a million between 1980 and 1985 (Table 4). Resumed growth in the number of 15- to 24-year-olds is projected between 1985 and 2000.

Summary. The 1960s were characterized by the highest increase in the number of 15- to 20-year-olds in the whole post-World-War II period. Since 1974, the number of secondary-school-age youth has been declining, and beginning in 1978, the number of university-age youth will begin to decrease.

In the years 1975–1980, young people below the age of 30 will have constituted 45 percent of the total population entering the labor force, and most of the young persons in age groups characterized by high birth rates will get married. These demographic conditions in 1975–1980 will favor implementation of the new school reform—introduction of 10-year compulsory education.

2

Education in Poland

Education Policy

The social role of education is to combine harmoniously the general welfare with the interests of individuals. The educational system plays an important role in stimulating social initiative and in preparing young people to participate in the economic, social, and cultural development of the country.

The education system established after World War II eliminated social inequalities by creating conditions for young people from various social classes to participate equally and fully in the socioeconomic life of the country. Utilization of young people's abilities in professional work—resulting from the policy of full and effective employment—led to satisfaction with work and a rise in the social and professional status of the younger generation.

The general elements of educational policy are:

- an adequately expanded and flexible network of schools to provide educational opportunities for all who want them;
- a school-system structure that creates conditions for everyone to be able to continue education to the highest level, implying the greatest possible democratization of the school system;
- adaptation of education to the needs of the national economy and culture in terms of quantity and quality; and
- constant modernization of curricula and teaching methods and construction of new schools to bring the educational sys-

tem up to date so that it corresponds with modern civilization and the changing structure of the economy, occupations, labor market, and individual needs

This education policy takes into consideration the internal problems of the school system and the external impact of the educational system as a whole. The external problems of education—such as employment prospects and qualifications of the labor force needed for the national economy—determine the internal tasks of the school system.

Several factors had an impact on education policies in the 1960s. We have mentioned the increase in the size of the secondary school age group. Another important factor was significant progress in the economic development of the country and progress in science, which created new demands for highly qualified manpower. In these circumstances, Poland was forced to expand its network of vocational schools and develop training opportunities within employment for youth entering the labor market.

The Educational System

The Polish educational system is based on four fundamental principles: (1) uniform education, (2) free education, (3) universal education, and (4) compulsory school attendance to a certain level. The uniform school system ensures that all schools at the same level have the same programs of instruction, curricula, and teaching methods. The uniform system eliminates dead ends from education and makes it possible for each individual completing any one type of education to go on to further education, thanks to the so-called ladder system. Free education at all levels is guaranteed to every citizen by the Polish constitution. There are no tuition fees, and an extensive system of financial aid for students has been created. The universal character of the school system means that all schools are open to everyone who wants to attend them, regardless of social or financial status. Compulsory school attendance requires every child to attend elementary school until the age of 15. From 1947 to 1967, seven years of compulsory schooling were required; this was increased to eight years in 1967 and will be

further prolonged in 1980 to 10 years of compulsory schooling.

Figure 2 illustrates the changes in the various educational paths followed after leaving elementary education. The following trends are revealed:

1. Nearly 100 percent of elementary-school-age children attended compulsory school in 1960, but only 85 percent completed it; in 1974, the proportion of students completing compulsory education grew to 90 percent.

2. The percentage of elementary school leavers who continued education in secondary schools grew constantly from 1960 to 1974, from 78 percent to 94 percent.

3. The main trend in postelementary education was toward basic vocational schools; the percentage of elementary school leavers choosing this type of education grew from 30 percent in 1960 to 51 percent in 1970 and nearly 55 percent in 1974.

4. The percentage of persons choosing general secondary school dropped from 25 percent in 1960 to 18 percent in 1965 and was stable in the 1970s at around 20 percent.

Educational Opportunities after Compulsory Schooling

At the secondary level, the educational system comprises two basic types of education—general and vocational—both of which offer day and evening courses. An individual completing elementary education can continue education in

- four-year general secondary schools;
- four- or five-year vocational secondary schools, or
- two- or three-year basic vocational schools training skilled workers.

Those from general secondary and vocational secondary schools who pass the final graduation examination with sufficiently high marks after completing coursework are eligible for admission to all types of higher education schools. There are also postsecondary two-year schools that train general secondary school leavers for professional work.

Those who complete basic vocational school can continue education in

- three-year general secondary schools or
- three-year vocational secondary schools.

Figure 2. The rate of transition from elementary to secondary schools of various types, 1960 to 1975

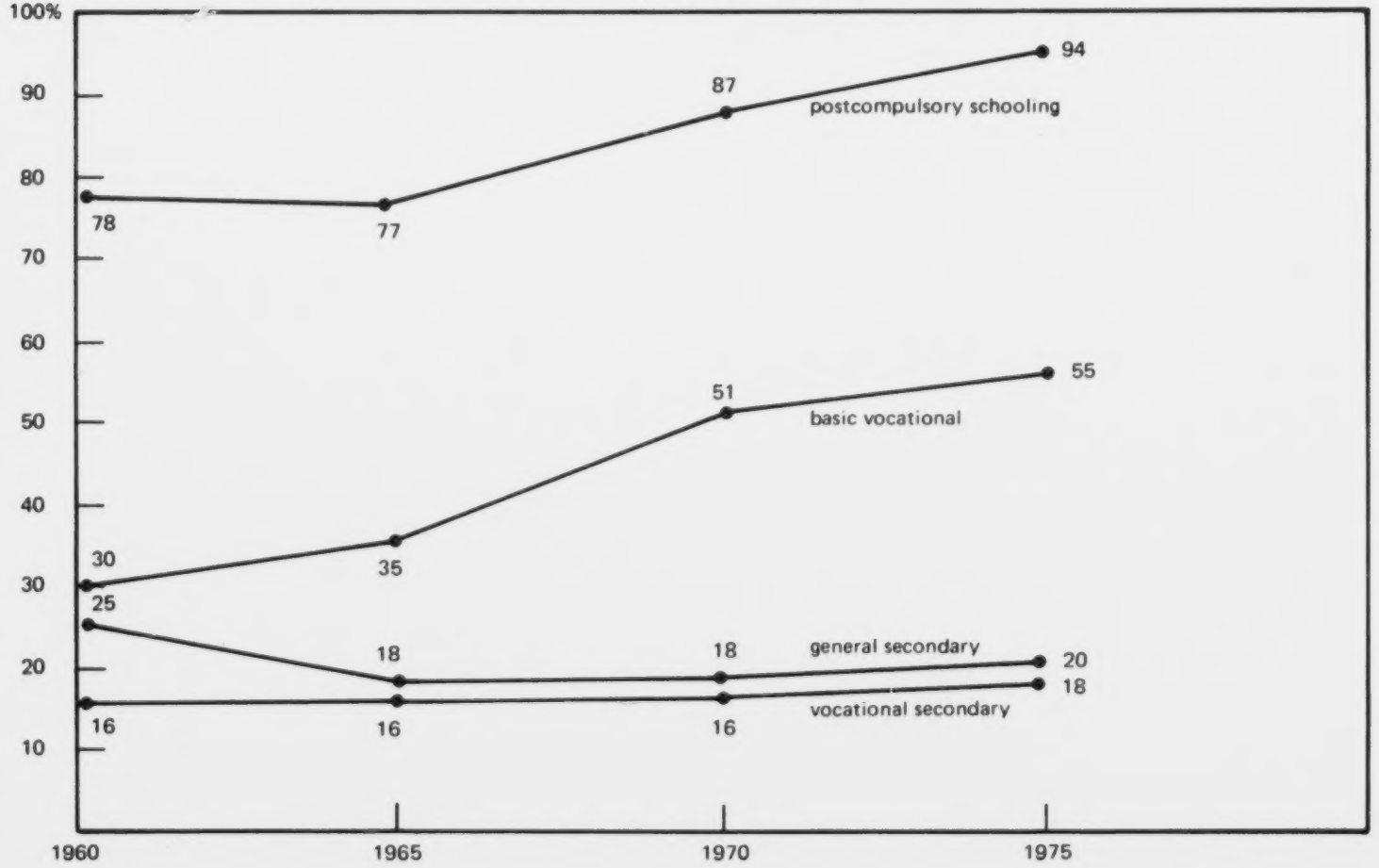


Figure 3 illustrates the various pathways through postelementary education.

The Polish education system, built on the principle of democratization, not only permits every individual who completes a lower level of education to go on to further education, but also gives a chance to working people to continue education through the evening school system at all levels. Working people enjoy certain education benefits such as paid leave, time off, reimbursement of travel expenses, and so forth.

The number of students in all types of education increased between 1960 and 1975. Enrollment in general secondary schools nearly doubled and grew by 157 percent in vocational schools, while in institutions of higher education it increased 158 percent (Table 5 and Figure 4).

The greatest increase in the number of students in secondary and higher education occurred between 1960 and 1965. In 1960, some 1.3 million students were enrolled in postcompulsory education, and in 1974 more than 3 million students attended postcompulsory schools.

One should note the particularly intensive development of vocational schooling. Vocational schools have been the main trend in postcompulsory education since 1965. The curricula and organization of these schools have been adapted to the increasing demand for qualified manpower due to the economic growth of the country. The number of students enrolled in vocational schools grew from 784,000 in 1960 to more than 2 million in 1974.

In 1960, 60 percent of persons enrolled in postelementary education attended vocational schools (Table 6). By 1970, 69 percent of the students were enrolled in these schools. The advantages of vocational schools lie in the great flexibility of programs and organization, which makes it possible both to adapt certain courses to the specific needs of training and the backgrounds of various groups of young people and also to adjust them to the needs of industry. For example, some vocational schools have courses for handicapped persons; in 1973, more than 15,000 students attended special schools for deaf, blind, and crippled children.

Figure 3. The education system in Poland

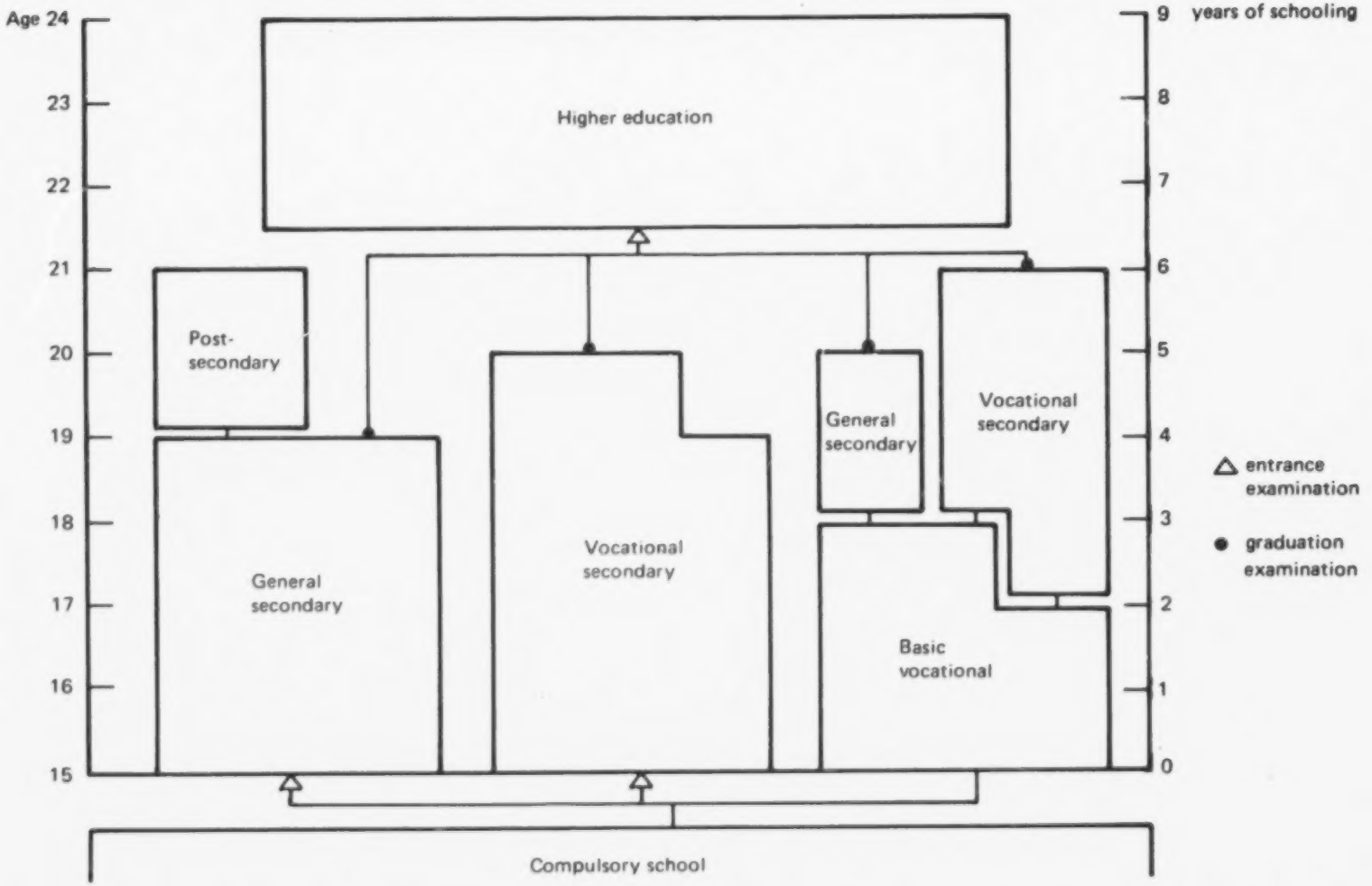


Table 5. Enrollment in secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, selected years, 1960–61 to 1974–75
(numbers in thousands)

Year	*General secondary schools*			*Vocational secondary schools*			*Institutions of higher education*		
	Total number	*Percentage change*	*Percentage in day courses*	*Total number*	*Percentage change*	*Percentage in day courses*	*Total number*	*Percentage change*	*Percentage in day courses*
1960–61	337.6		77.4	784.2		83.4	165.7		67.2
1965–66	557.2	65.0	76.8	1,671.0	113.1	82.8	251.8	52.0	60.5
1970–71	537.5	-3.5	74.8	1,710.7	2.4	82.5	330.8	31.4	63.5
1974–75	648.5	20.6	74.5	2,013.3	17.7	79.6	426.7	29.0	60.5
1960–61 to 1974–75		92.1			156.7			157.5	

Figure 4. Number of students in secondary and higher education, 1960–1975

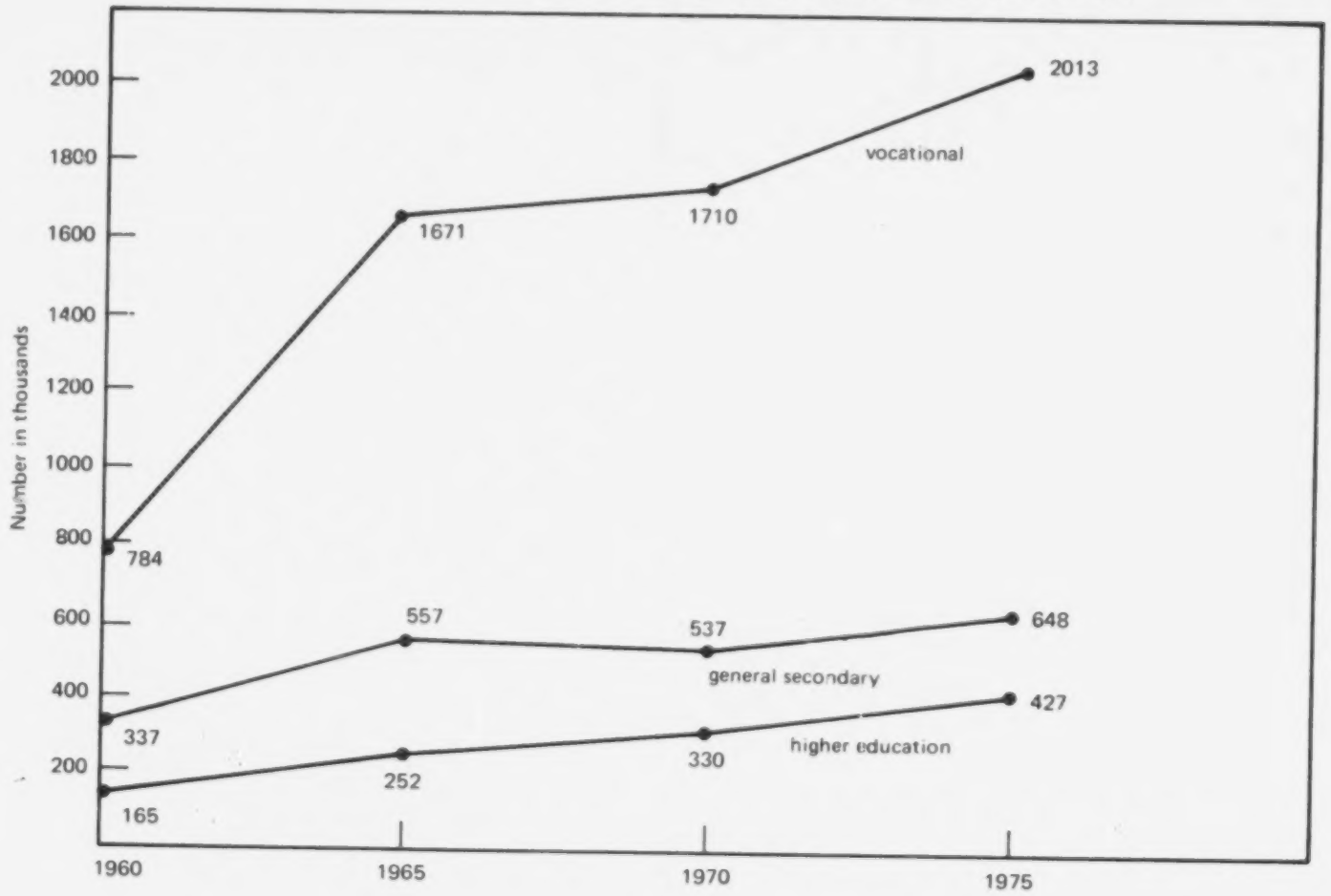


Table 6. Percentages of students enrolled in various types of secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, selected years, 1960–61 to 1974–75

Year	*General secondary*	*Vocational schools*	*Higher education*
1960–61	26.2%	60.9%	12.9%
1965–66	22.4	67.4	10.2
1970–71	21.7	69.0	9.3
1974–75	21.0	65.2	13.8

The increase in the number of graduates from vocational schools was particularly pronounced in technical, agricultural, and economic occupations. The proportion of graduates in technical occupations grew from 56 percent of all graduates in 1960 to 68 percent in 1975 (Table 7). Some 15 percent of graduates came from secondary economics schools and some 10 percent from agricultural schools.

The domination of vocational schools in secondary education has caused some controversy in recent years, with objections raised to the inadequate number of enrollments in general secondary schools compared with vocational schools. While students in vocational schools are trained for work, it is also expected that a considerable proportion of them will take up further studies. Some 20 percent of all students in the first years of higher education are vocational school leavers. As indicated before, students from basic vocational schools can go on to further education in either vocational secondary or general secondary schools.

Vocational schools in Poland are highly differentiated in structure, which gives the elementary school leavers the chance of choosing the path of further education that they consider to be the best. There are some differences between male and female students in choosing types of postelementary education. Relatively more giris than boys are enrolled in general secondary schools than in vocational schools. In fact, female students constituted 61 percent of general secondary school attendance in 1960 and 72 percent in 1974 (Table 8). In vocational schools, female students constituted 40 percent of attendance in 1960 and 45 percent in 1974. In higher education

Table 7. Graduates of vocational schools, by field of study, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76

Field of study	*1960–61*		*1965–66*		*1970–71*		*1975–76*	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Total	142.2	100	363.7	100	441.1	100	526.8	100
Technical	78.4	56	193.4	54	271.7	60	356.8	68
Agriculture	20.4	14	52.6	14	42.8	10	49.7	9
Economics	14.8	10	56.0	15	77.4	18	81.1	15
Education	17.7	12	37.7	10	23.2	5	19.6	4
Medical	5.0	4	9.7	3	11.3	3	17.2	3
Arts	2.7	2	2.9	1	3.6	1	4.4	1
Other	3.2	2	11.4	3	11.1	3	—	—

Table 8. Female students as a percentage of total students in secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, selected years, 1960–61 to 1974–75

Year	*General secondary*	*Vocational secondary schools*	*Institutions of higher education*
1960–61	61.4%	40.0%	34.7%
1965–66	68.4	42.4	37.5
1970–71	72.0	45.8	47.0
1974–75	72.0	45.0	52.0

institutions, the proportion of women among the students rose from 35 percent in 1960 to 52 percent in 1974. Thus female students predominated in both general secondary and university enrollment. Consequently, women's educational attainment in recent years has been higher than that of men.

In terms of numbers, enrollment of female students in general secondary school doubled between 1960 and 1975 and was nearly three times higher in vocational schools and four times higher in higher education in 1975 than in 1960 (Table 9). In 1960, the total number of female students in postelementary education was about 570,000; by 1975 it had grown to 1.6 million—that is, nearly threefold.

Distinctive changes have taken place in the educational pattern of female students. In the 1950s, the humanities and economic subjects predominated. In the past 15 years, the number of women studying technical subjects and pure science has grown steadily. In 1960, women constituted 11 percent of total graduates in technical subjects; in 1973 their number had increased to 22 percent (Table 10).

The large number of female students enrolled in certain disciplines has resulted in some professions being dominated by women. Female graduates in economics grew from 36 percent of all graduates in that field in 1960 to 63 percent in 1973; in social sciences the increase was from 54 percent to 75 percent; in medical studies from 60 to 71 percent; and in pure science from 50 to 62 percent. Some 70 percent of graduates in education were women.

Table 9. Enrollment of female students in secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76

Year	*General secondary schools*		*Vocational secondary schools*		*Institutions of higher education*	
	Number (in thousands)	*Percentage change*	*Number (in thousands)*	*Percentage change*	*Number (in thousands)*	*Percentage change*
1960–61	207.3		313.7		57.5	
1965–66	381.1	83.8	708.6	125.9	94.4	64.2
1970–71	386.9	1.5	784.0	10.6	139.8	48.1
1975–76	447.5	15.6	934.9	19.2	230.4	64.8
1960–61 to 1975–76		115.9		198.0		300.7

Table 10. Female graduates as a percentage of all graduates of institutions of higher education, by field of study, selected years, 1960–1975

Field of study	*1960*	*1965*	*1970*	*1973*
Total	36%	36%	43%	46%
Technical	11	13	21	22
Agriculture	30	29	42	44
Economics	36	32	52	63
Law	30	29	38	43
Social science	54	59	71	75
Pure science	50	57	59	62
Medicine	60	63	65	71
Education	n.a.	n.a.	75	68
Arts	43	48	50	46

As a consequence of the increasing number of females enrolled in all institutions of secondary and higher education in the past 15 years, the employment of women in the national economy has increased significantly, and they have become dominant in such professions as teaching, law, medicine, and economics.

The high professional qualifications of women (in some groups higher than those of men) and their professional ambition have played a role in explaining the rise in employment of women, from 36 percent of all employed workers in 1964 to 44 percent in 1975 (Table 11).

Table 11. Total employment and employment of women, selected years, 1964–1975

Year	*Employment (in thousands)*		*Women as percentage of total*
	Total	*Women*	
1964	7,137	2,553	35.8%
1968	8,528	3,258	38.2
1970	9,408	3,884	41.3
1972	10,260	4,404	43.0
1975	11,366	4,996	43.9

A very important role in expanding education is played by the educational system for working people. Schools for working people have been developed at all levels—elementary, basic vocational, secondary, and higher education. Working people have open access to professional and personal careers through evening and correspondence courses. The number of people enrolled in evening studies grew from 260,000 in 1960 to 794,000 in 1975. Enrollment in these programs in general secondary schools nearly doubled; in vocational schools it increased 3.5 times, and in higher education institutions it grew more than threefold (Table 12). In 1975, evening studies students constituted 24 percent of general secondary school enrollment, 22 percent of vocational school enrollment, and 39 percent of higher education enrollment.

Evening schools also play an important role in the education of youth. In 1960, some 37,000 young people 15 to 18 years old attended evening courses, while 110,000 19- to 24-year-olds were enrolled (Table 13). By 1975 nearly 500,000 youths 15 to 24 were enrolled in evening schools. For the age group 15 to 24 as a whole, the number attending evening courses was more than three times higher in 1975 than in 1960.

Evening school students have all the privileges of normal school students as well as some other benefits, such as additional paid holidays to prepare for examinations, the right to leave work earlier than usual, and free time for consultations.

The number of graduates from higher education institutions doubled in 1975 in comparison with 1960 (Figure 5). The higher education system underwent far-reaching transformations, adjusting the fields of study of graduates more closely to the demands of the national economy and culture. The proportion of graduates from technical universities dropped from 41 percent of all graduates in 1960 to 35 percent in 1975, although their number nearly doubled at the same time (Table 14). Pronounced changes also took place in the field of economics, in which the number of graduates grew by 322 percent and rose from 6 percent of all graduates in 1960 to 10 percent in 1975. The number of graduates from science and agriculture also doubled between 1960 and 1975.

Table 12. Enrollment of evening school students as a percentage of total enrollment in secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76 (numbers in thousands)

	General secondary schools			*Vocational secondary schools*			*Institutions of higher education*		
Year	*Number*	*Percentage of all students*	*Percentage change*	*Number*	*Percentage of all students*	*Percentage change*	*Number*	*Percentage of all students*	*Percentage change*
1960–61	76.1	22.5		129.9	16.5		54.4	32.8	
1965–66	129.3	23.2	69.9	287.0	17.2	120.9	99.5	39.5	82.9
1970–71	135.6	25.2	4.6	300.6	17.6	4.7	121.0	36.6	21.6
1975–76	150.0	24.1	10.6	459.2	22.3	52.8	185.0	39.5	52.9
1960–61 to 1975–76			97.4			253.5			240.0

Table 13. Evening school students 15 to 24, by age group, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76 (numbers in thousands)

Year	*15 to 18 years*						*19 to 24 years*	
	Total number	*Percentage change*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*Number*	*Percentage change*
1960–61	37.5		1.7	2.1	15.8	21.3	109.8	
1965–66	56.9	51.7	0.8	4.3	17.3	33.0	206.3	88.7
1970–71	110.9	94.9	8.1	18.6	31.0	53.2	265.8	28.8
1975–76	128.2	15.6	5.5	13.7	32.5	76.5	359.0	35.0
1960–61 to 1975–76		241.9						226.9

Figure 5. Graduates from secondary and higher education, 1960 to 1975

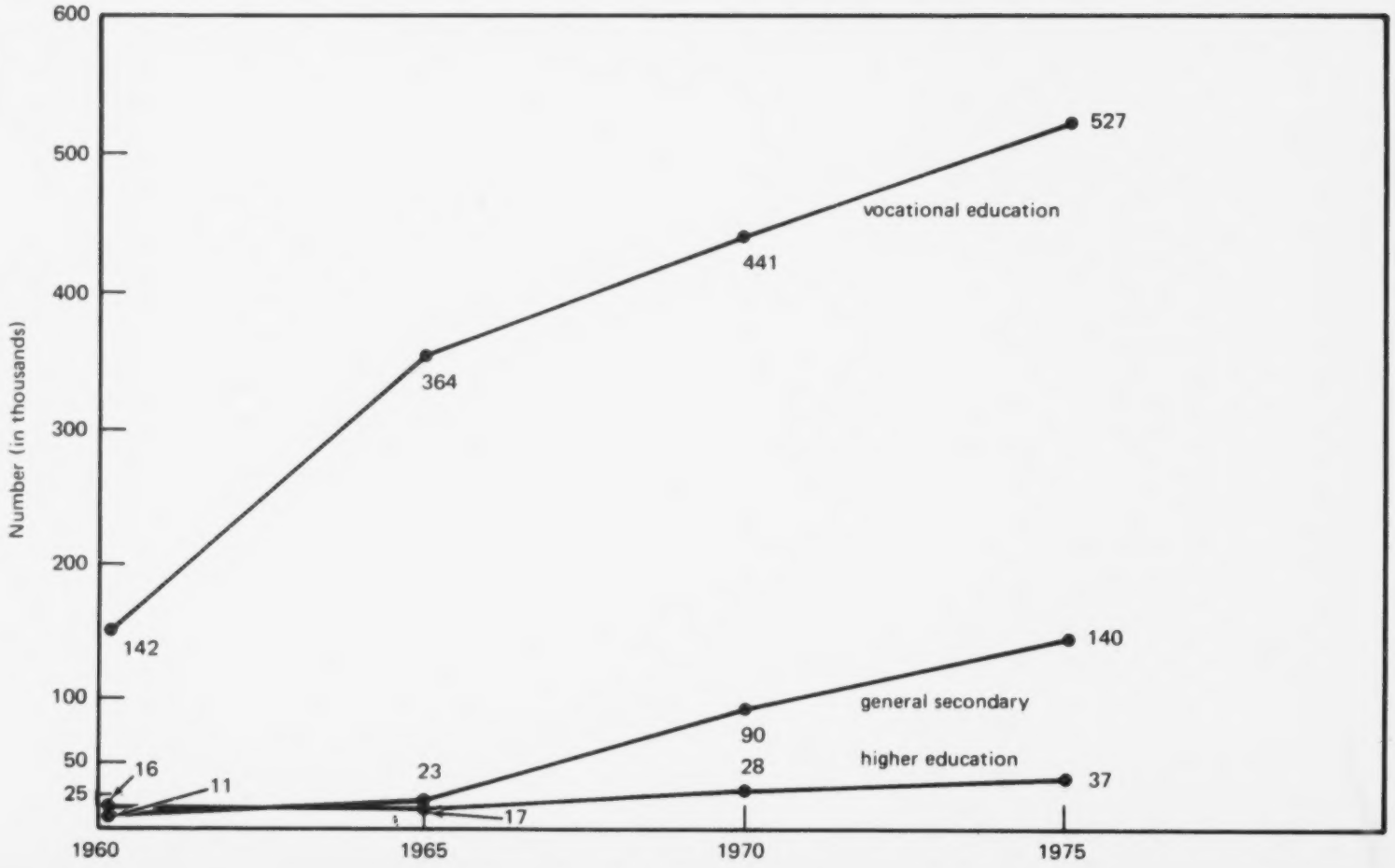


Table 14. Graduates from day studies in institutions of higher education, by field of study, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76
(numbers in thousands)

Field of study	1960–61		1965–66		1970–71		1975–76	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Total	16.0	100	16.5	100	28.4	100	37.0	100
Technical	6.6	41	4.6	28	10.1	36	12.6	35
Agriculture	1.2	8	1.4	9	2.3	8	2.5	7
Economics	0.9	6	1.0	6	2.6	9	3.8	10
Law	0.4	3	0.8	5	1.2	4	2.0	5
Social science	1.0	6	2.0	12	3.3	11	3.1	8
Science	1.3	8	1.9	11	3.3	12	2.9	8
Medical	3.1	19	3.1	19	3.8	13	3.5	9
Arts	0.5	3	0.6	4	0.8	3	0.9	2
Other	1.0	6	1.1	6	1.0	4	5.7	16

As a result of the growing number of students and graduates from secondary schools, the level of education of the generation born between 1945 and 1953 was much higher than that of the previous generation. The proportion completing elementary education rose from 83 percent of those born in 1945 to approximately 90 percent of those born in subsequent years. The percentages completing higher levels of education rose steadily for each successive year of birth, as Table 15 indicates.

Table 15. Educational attainment of persons born from 1945 to 1953, by year of birth

	Percentage of persons who completed			
Year of birth	*Elementary education*	*Basic Vocational education*	*Secondary education*	*Higher education*
1945	82.7	27.7	20.3	5.3
1946	88.4	30.7	23.3	5.9
1947	90.4	32.3	25.3	6.1
1948	92.9	33.2	26.0	7.5
1949	94.5	37.0	27.7	8.0
1950	90.5	47.4	27.0	*
1951	88.7	48.7	*	*
1952	86.3	50.1	*	*
1953	89.7	*	*	*

*Reliable completion data not yet available on these cohorts.

Dropouts from Secondary Schools

Not all of those who begin secondary education complete it. Some pupils repeat a class, and some drop out altogether. Among basic vocational school pupils, 2.3 percent repeat class annually. The figures for secondary vocational school pupils, general secondary school pupils, and postsecondary school pupils are 6 percent, 4 percent and 1.5 percent, respectively. Some 10 percent of all pupils drop out at some time during the school year for various reasons.

Research carried out by Reszke* among youth enrolled in school reveals several factors related to dropping out:

- recruitment methods and selection of candidates for certain types of schools and the information and guidance system
- socioeconomic status of the students' families
- attractiveness of the trade
- competition with other schools and on-the-job training

Students who drop out of school either leave school without undertaking any further education, change schools, or return to the same school after some time. The reasons for changing schools differ from those for giving up studies. Many students do not have sufficient information about the occupations taught when they make their choice of a school. One-fifth of students from vocational secondary and one-third of those from basic vocational schools were unaware of the vocational guidance service, while one-fourth had never heard of the information published on the occupations taught. Some 40 percent of students took advice from the vocational guidance service and information from published papers. Those who had less information about their studies were likely to give up or change schools more frequently than others.

Annual dropping out was higher in basic vocational schools (9 percent) than in secondary vocational (5 percent) or general secondary (4 percent). Moreover, the percentage of dropouts who did not undertake any further education was higher in basic vocational schools (about 45 percent) than in vocational secondary schools (28 percent).

Those who left school before completing studies were backward at school and had worse marks and more unjustified absences than others. Although failure in school work was most frequently quoted as a reason for dropping out, other factors—such as willingness to continue studies in another school or to take up work—affected many students' decisions.

*I. Reszke, *Społeczne uwarunkowania wyboru szkoły zawodowej i odpływu uczniów ze szkoły* (*The Impact of Social Condition on the Choice of Vocational Schooling and on Dropping Out of Students*) (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1972).

Dropping out was more frequent among students from peasant families and unskilled-worker families than among students from other social groups. More students from families with lower economic status, whose parents were of a lower educational level, were likely to drop out. More dropping out also occurred among students from rural areas, particularly among those who had to commute to school from a long distance. Reasons for dropping out (in order of relative frequency) were:

- failure in school work
- lack of interest in the trade being taught (wrong choice of trade)
- willingness to go to work (have own money)
- burdensome travel to school
- necessity to work for family reasons (help on farms, earning money)

To lower the drop-out rate, educators must improve the possibilities for better choice of occupation (improve information and guidance services), change the network of schools (increase schools in rural areas), and build more boarding schools in urban areas.

Educational Programs Outside the School System

The increased public demand for self-educational development and the increasing need for skills and adaptability in employment in the past 15 years have stimulated the development of many organized forms of supplemental knowledge and training outside the school system.

Various forms of vocational training for youth beginning work have been particularly well developed in industrial enterprises: apprenticeship and on-the-job training as well as various kinds of professional courses designed to improve qualifications already attained or to encourage the acquisition of new qualifications currently in demand. Many enterprises offer regular training courses for improving qualifications or qualifying for a new job, and they play an important role in forming a positive attitude toward work.

There also exist numerous training courses outside of employment. A particular form of youth training is exemplified by the increasingly popular Voluntary Labor Corps. These are youth camps organized for a specified period of time during which young people live and work together, acquiring occupational qualifications while helping in industry or erecting new plants. On finishing the corps, young people can take a qualifying examination that will entitle them to work in the occupation for which they were trained.

Military service as an educational institution. Another form of occupational training outside school is that received by young males in compulsory military service. The compulsory two-year period of military service becomes an educational experience for a considerable number of young men from 19 to 23 years of age. As well as acquiring skills concerning the defense of the country, the recruits have a chance to attain several other qualifications during their service.

Military service is a significant link in the education system, preparing young men from different environments for their future occupations. The army even has a monopoly in training for certain modern occupations and, as a matter of fact, a considerable part of the army budget is used for its education program. About 90 percent of the soldiers who have not finished elementary education complete this during their military service; for example, in 1966–1972 about 53,000 soldiers took part in courses to complete their elementary education.

The army assigns considerable funds for special training of youth in selected occupations that are needed in the national economy. During their service in the army, soldiers may become certified as drivers, car mechanics, machine and heavy-equipment operators, or in building industry as brick layers, smiths, carpenters, welders, milling cutters, turners, grinders, and so forth. In this way the army provides general training in over 20 occupations.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the military education programs were broadened to a great extent in certain fields as a result of the general rise in economic and technical standards. Hundreds

of thousands of soldiers acquired skills supporting the national economy in the following fields:

- 50 percent as car and tractor drivers, operators, fitters, and motor mechanics
- 25 percent as skilled workers in telecommunication, electrical work, and so on
- 15 percent in such skilled occupations as bridge and road construction, railway services, or building
- 5 percent as quartermasters (cooks, waiters, storekeepers, medical assistants, and so on)

During service in particular units, various supplementary courses are organized, depending on the interests of particular groups. For example, for the rural recruits there are courses on mechanization and the use of chemicals in agriculture or on methods of vegetable growing and cattle breeding.

Recruits from different social backgrounds and regions of the country, differing in standards of culture and development, not only receive training in defense and occupational qualifications but also benefit from comradeship, solidarity, social and cultural interests, and the like. These socialization experiences are an advantage when they return to their communities. The educational role of the army is just as important in its social benefits as in its military training.

Besides educating recruits during their two-year service, the army also has education institutions for its own purposes. Special army schools on a higher level give professional training for posts within the army.

The role of radio and television. Over the past few years, radio and television have increased their share in the system of national education. The second TV channel, established in 1970, devotes over 80 percent of its broadcasting time to education. TV and radio have regular programs for teachers (Radio-TV University for Teachers), for engineers (TV Polytechnics), for farmers (Secondary Agricultural School), and for working people (General Secondary School Program for Working People).

Radio and television educational programs function in cooperation with other education institutions and play an impor-

tant role in developing valuable educational programs for the young. The development of such a great number of educational programs outside the regular school system gives all people the opportunity to acquire necessary or desired qualifications and education in accordance with their own interests.

Government Expenditure on Education

Between 1960 and 1973, government expenditure on secondary and higher education grew by 78 percent. This increase resulted from the need to extend the network of secondary schools in the 1960s in order to provide places for the oncoming baby-boom generation. The largest funds were allocated to the development of vocational schools between 1960 and 1965, when expenditures increased threefold, and to the development of higher education between 1960 and 1973, when investment increased almost six times (Table 16).

Annual expenditure from the state budget was two times higher in 1973 than in 1965, growing from 20.2 million to 40.9 million zlotys (Table 17). The largest sums were allocated to secondary education, although the sharpest increase in expenditure over the period occurred in higher education. The 1973 expenditure was almost 2.5 times higher than that of 1965. Expenditure on other types of schools nearly doubled in 1973 in comparison with 1965.

The number of youths receiving student aid from the government also increased. In 1960–61, about 780,000 students

Table 16. Government expenditures on investment in secondary and higher education (capital expenditures), selected years, 1960 to 1973 (amounts in millions of zlotys)

	Amounts				*Percentage change*			
Year	*Total*	*Secondary*	*Vocational*	*Higher*	*Total*	*Secondary*	*Vocational*	*Higher*
1960	3,898	2,742	601	386				
1965	5,564	2,919	1,685	750	42.7	6.4	180.2	94.0
1970	6,015	1,956	2,146	1,596	8.1	-33.1	27.4	112.9
1973	6,937	1,751	2,184	2,414	15.3	-10.5	1.8	51.3
1960–1973					78.0	-36.1	263.2	525.1

Table 17. Government expenditures on secondary and higher education (operating expenditures), selected years, 1965 to 1973 (amounts in millions of zlotys)

Year	Amounts				Percentage change			
	Total	Secondary	Vocational	Higher	Total	Secondary	Vocational	Higher
1965	20,187	11,840	5,117	3,230				
1970	28,506	16,753	6,630	5,123	41.2	41.5	29.6	58.6
1973	40,876	23,633	9,260	7,983	43.4	41.0	39.7	55.8
1965–1973					102.5	99.6	80.9	147.1

of general secondary schools, vocational schools, and higher education institutions benefited from this aid, while by 1975–76 their number had grown to 1.5 million (Table 18). Financial aid in the form of various scholarships was received in 1960–61 by nearly 9 percent of general secondary school students, 34 percent of vocational school students, and 54 percent of higher education students.

Due to the fact that the number of secondary and higher education students nearly doubled between 1960 and 1975, the percentages of students benefiting from government aid increased only slightly, and in the case of higher education students it even dropped. In 1975–76, government financial aid was received by about 10 percent of general secondary school youth, 32.5 percent of vocational school youth, and 46.5 percent of higher education students. At the same time, 7 percent of secondary school youth, 17 percent of vocational school youth, and 42 percent of higher education students lived in state boarding schools either free of charge or at reduced fees.

The annual cost of educating one student in higher education is about 25,000 zlotys, while expenditure on educating one secondary school pupil ranges between 3,000 and 8,000 zlotys, depending on the field and duration of study. To provide opportunitites in secondary and higher education for several million young people in the years 1960 to 1975, the government used about 5 percent of the GNP yearly.

Table 18. Number and percentage of students in secondary schools and institutions of higher education receiving student aid, selected years, 1960–61 to 1975–76 (numbers in thousands)

Year	Number of aid recipients			Percentage of all students					
				Scholarship recipients			Recipients of boarding school aid		
	General secondary schools	Vocational schools	Institutions of higher education	General secondary schools	Vocational schools	Institutions of higher education	General secondary schools	Vocational schools	Institutions of higher education
1960–61	250.7	477.4	59.4	8.8	34.6	53.7			
1965–66	417.3	905.1	72.4	6.8	30.0	48.0	8.2	16.0	43.9
1970–71	401.3	936.7	89.5	7.4	28.1	43.2	8.3	16.5	42.2
1975–76	471.6	998.2	130.6	10.2	32.4	46.5	7.0	17.2	42.0

Higher education students are not allowed to enter paid employment. They can hold part-time jobs in student cooperatives if granted permission by the authorities of higher education institutions. About 20 percent of students had part-time jobs in such cooperatives in 1975.

Access to Secondary and Higher Education

For many years after World War II, admission to higher education was limited by the inadequacies of secondary education. The steep rise in the number of students completing secondary education between 1960 and 1975 was more marked in vocational secondary education than in general secondary education. In fact, the number of graduates of vocational schools grew from 142,000 in 1960 to 527,000 in 1975. Enrollment in general secondary schools nearly doubled by 1974 in comparison with 1960 and was 2.5 times higher in vocational schools (Table 5).

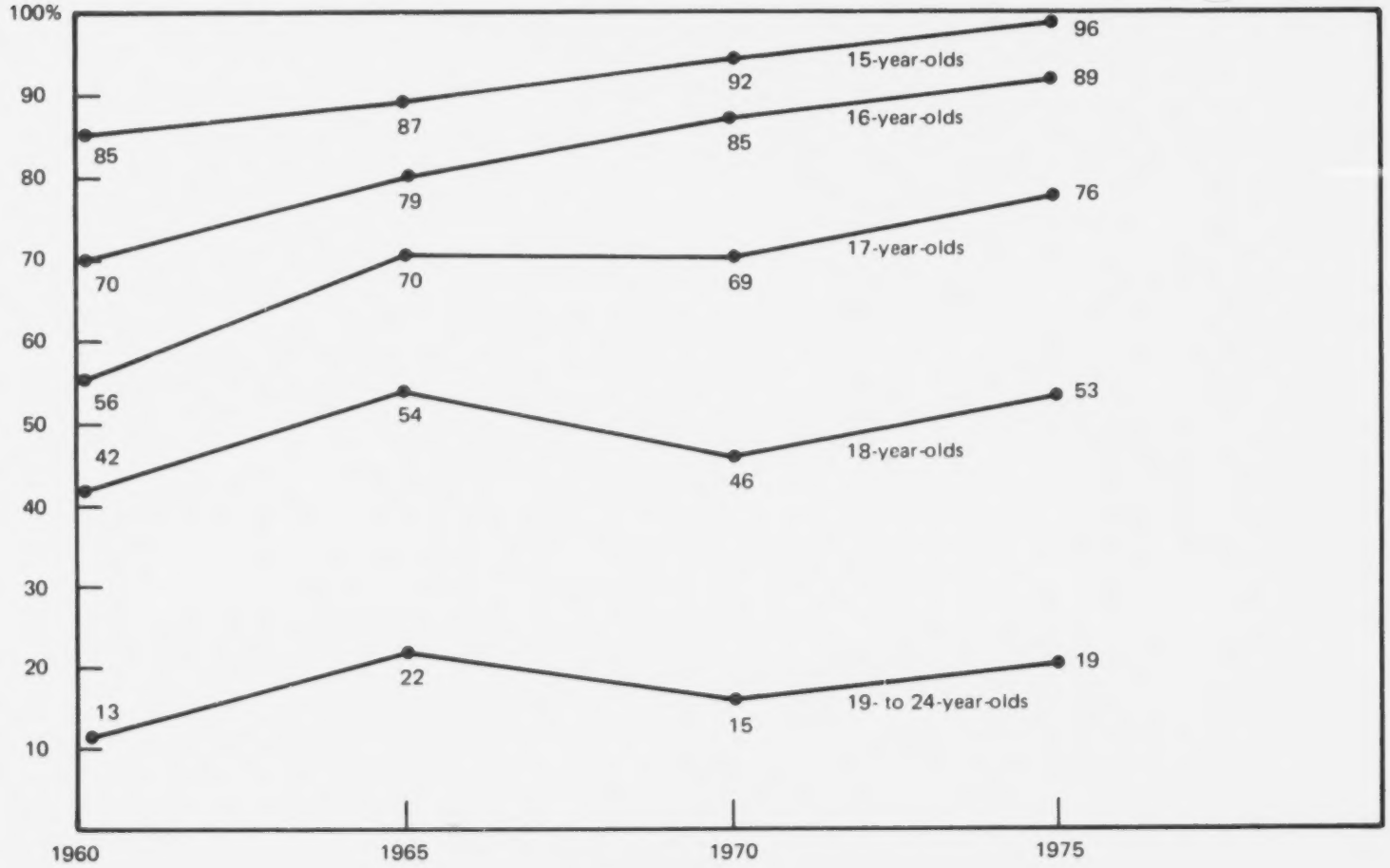
The increase in secondary education enrollment was due to the following factors:

- a higher percentage of people completing compulsory schooling
- an increase in the rate of transition from compulsory to secondary schools
- an increase in the population of 15- to 18-year olds

The number of people enrolled in secondary and higher education grew faster than the population of that age group. The percentage of people continuing education in the 15-to-18 age group grew from 65 percent in 1960 to 78 percent in 1974 (see Figure 6).

The increase in the number of people receiving secondary school-leaving certificates based on the graduation examination qualifying for higher education caused a sharp rise in the number of candidates for higher education. But the increased output from secondary education was not matched by a corresponding increase in the intake capacity of the institutions of higher education: only 40 percent of the applicants were able to enter higher education between 1960 and 1975 (half of the applicants did not pass the entrance examinations). Even so, in the past 15

Figure 6. The percentage of 15- to 24-years-olds enrolled in school, 1960 to 1975



years there has been an unprecedented growth in the number of higher education students, as we saw earlier (Table 5).

Democratization of education is a long process, starting as early as primary schooling. The very high attendance ratio in the 1970s (nearly 100 percent in the compulsory education age group) shows that full democratization has already been achieved at the compulsory level. In addition, great progress has been made in democratization of secondary education in the past 15 years. It is expected that by introducing 10 years of compulsory schooling by 1980, the process of democratization on the secondary level will have been completed.

The increase in numbers of those attending secondary school is directly connected with:

- geographic distribution of secondary schools
- students' and parents' attitudes toward education
- socioeconomic development of the country—employment opportunities, work prospects, and so on.

The geographic distribution of secondary schools is unsatisfactory, particularly in rural areas inhabited by more than 50 percent of the 15- to 19-year-olds. More than 50 percent of vocational school students have to commute from villages to the nearest towns to attend postelementary schools. In many cases, this is the main reason for dropping out of school. The state provides boarding schools and financial aid for many students to make the higher stages of education accessible to peasant youth, but the number of places in these boarding schools is still insufficient, preventing many young people from continuing their education or forcing them to commute from long distances.

Rural youth are also disadvantaged by the standard of schooling, which is usually lower outside cities. In order to increase the flow of peasant youth into higher education institutions, the educational authorities decided in 1970 to create well-staffed schools in the country with a greater number of students and better-educated teachers. This measure will bring the standard of education in rural areas considerably closer to that in the urban ones and make access to secondary and higher education much easier for youth from rural areas.

The aspirations of youth and the attitudes of parents toward the education of children have been changing over the past 15 years. More and more youth want to take up further studies. Many surveys have revealed that parents are willing to do their best to help their children achieve higher levels of education. Most parents desire their children to acquire a level of education at least one step higher than their own. One-third of parents with elementary education want their children to go through higher education institutions.

The dynamic socioeconomic development of Poland in recent years has created a great demand for people with secondary and higher education attainments. The number of jobs awaiting secondary and higher school graduates has exceeded the number of school leavers, and this situation has been an additional incentive for youth to acquire a higher level of education.

In evaluating the democratization of education, one usually examines (1) the student population from the viewpoint of social background and (2) changes in the pattern of participation that have occurred over the years in favor of those social classes which had been poorly represented in previous years. Table 19 shows the changes in participation of students from working-class and peasant families in various schools between 1960 and 1975. Positive changes in access to all levels of education are most marked in the case of working-class children. The participation of working-class students in all schools was much higher in the 1970s than in the 1960s:

- from 24 percent in 1960 to 36 percent in 1974 in general secondary schools
- from 33 percent in 1960 to 51 percent in 1974 in vocational schools
- from 25 percent in 1960 to 30 percent in 1974 in higher education institutions.

Changes in the participation in secondary and higher education of students from intelligentsia have been slow.

The proportion of peasant children entering secondary and higher education was smaller than that of working-class children and was on decline between 1960 and 1974—partly explained

Table 19. Social origins of students enrolled in secondary and higher education, 1960–61 to 1974–75

Type of school and year	*Social status of parents*				
	Total students	*Workers*	*Peasants*	*Intelligentsia*	*Other*
General secondary schools					
1960–61	100.0%	23.9%	19.4%	41.9%	14.8%
1965–66	100.0	27.2	18.0	43.2	11.6
1970–71	100.0	33.1	15.7	45.2	6.0
1974–75	100.0	36.2	13.4	46.2	4.2
Vocational schools					
1960–61	100.0	33.0	27.9	26.8	12.3
1965–66	100.0	37.6	23.7	28.7	10.0
1970–71	100.0	45.1	21.0	28.0	5.9
1974–75	100.0	51.0	19.7	25.0	4.3
Higher education					
1960–61	100.0	24.6	18.7	44.8	5.2
1965–66	100.0	27.2	17.0	50.4	5.4
1970–71	100.0	29.9	15.5	50.3	4.3
1974–75	100.0	30.1	13.9	52.3	3.7

by a decline in the relative size of the peasant population. The decrease for particular types of schools was as follows:

- from 19 percent in 1960 to 13 percent in 1974 in general secondary education
- from 28 percent in 1960 to 20 percent in 1974 in vocational schools
- from 19 percent in 1960 to 14 percent in 1974 in higher education institutions.

The highest proportion of working-class and peasant youth was in vocational schools—61 percent of total enrollment in 1960 and 71 percent in 1974. Working-class and peasant youth constituted nearly 50 percent of general secondary school students and 44 percent of higher education students in 1974.

The process of democratization needs further development, especially with regard to peasant youth's share in education. Recently, a number of actions have been taken to increase participation of peasant youth in secondary and higher education in the near future. One of them, as we have seen, is the creation

of well-staffed schools in rural areas to bring the standard of education there closer to that of the urban areas. Peasant youth candidates have been given some preference in admission to higher levels of education.

Evaluation and Proposals

At the beginning of the 1970s, the government established the Experts' Committee for the Development of a Report on the State of Education in Poland. The committee made a detailed analysis of the present education system and suggested some guidelines for change. Surveys carried out by the committee revealed a number of faults in the education system that hamper implementation of current and future educational goals; the following faults were stressed.

1. unequal opportunities for children and youth from different social backgrounds (particularly for rural youth)
2. an insufficient number and low standards of vocational-guidance and school-orientation institutions
3. too early and haphazard choice of postcompulsory vocational education
4. uneven distribution of postelementary schools, which makes it difficult for rural youth to attend because of long distances and insufficient numbers of boarding schools in the cities
5. different standards of schools—rural schools being worse equipped and staffed than those in the cities
6. high dropout rates in schools, as well as overburdening of pupils with school programs which makes coaching necessary—only 70 percent of secondary school youth finish school in the normal length of time
7. a high percentage of youth who finish education after basic vocational school without undertaking further schooling
8. the low level of education of rural youth employed in agriculture, due to the low standards of agricultural schools

Particular attention has been paid to the problem of proper choice of school, education, and occupation of young people. The present system of youth enrollment and guidance through the school system causes dissatisfaction among parents and often leads to a haphazard choice of school and occupation

that is not in accord with young people's abilities and interests. Needless to say, such decisions are costly both in social and individual terms.

It is a great disadvantage of the present school system that some forms of education are relatively unavailable to some groups of youth and that it is difficult to change school when a teenager's choice has proved discordant with interests and abilities. The school system has little effectiveness from a social and pedagogical point of view—that is, the knowledge conveyed through teaching programs is not always adjusted to the constantly changing conditions of economic and social life. Methods of teaching, school equipment, and educational standards of the teaching staff have also been criticized. As a result, a significant number of teachers are now required to complete higher levels of education.

The report on the state of education also criticized general secondary schools, arguing that they prepare students for higher education institutions only, without providing any qualifications that would enable pupils to enter employment on graduation; they are attended mainly by children of the intelligentsia and are situated chiefly in cities. The report suggests that the schools be reformed and included in the system of the 11-year comprehensive schools.

The present system of vocational education, which is the main source of qualified workers and intermediate technological staff, has also attracted several criticisms, among them:

- inadequacy of teaching programs to the current and future economic needs
- little practical training in industrial enterprises
- inadequate enrollment for some schools, the choice of school being haphazard in the case of many youth
- uneven distribution of schools
- overspecialization

Vocational schools have proved to be too time consuming and too expensive, considering their relatively small effectiveness with regard to the graduates' skills.

Higher education institutions have been constantly reorganized over the past few years. Despite the constant changes,

however, little improvement has been noted in the quality of the graduates' knowledge. The demand for qualified staff in particular specializations has not been fully satisfied: there have been some discrepancies between the planned demand for qualified staff and the actual number of graduates (surpluses in some specializations and shortages in others).

Detailed analyses of the present education system have revealed many shortcomings and needed changes. The proposed changes put particular emphasis on a closer link between schools and other educational institutions in a given region as well as on the need for extension of the outside-school system of continuous education. The school system is to be linked directly with industrial enterprises, which will take over part of the practical occupational training of youth, and is to be based on the following principles:

- compulsory and universal education until the age of 18
- a system of schooling accessible to all
- an adjustable curriculum
- extensive education
- continuous education

To implement the above principles, the Experts' Committee suggested various changes in secondary education. The optimum solution is introduction of an 11-year compulsory comprehensive school for all children and youth 6 to 18 years old. The new system would make a higher level of education equally accessible for children and youth from all social backgrounds—including those with low levels of education—by way of uniform education and up-bringing, initially from the age of six and later even from the age of five or four. At the same time, it would give an equal chance to all 18-year-olds in making decisions as to their future—that is, whether to undertake work, further occupational education, or education in institutions of higher education.

The program of compulsory comprehensive school would include, apart from the basis of general education, some occupational training (the 9th to 11th forms). A varied program of extracurricular activities would be introduced in the 4th to 8th

forms and would be suited to the individual abilities and interests of the children. That would help youth become aware of the general line of their further education and choose the right occupation, while occupational training courses would be organized for youth dropping out of school before the age of 18 to enable them to take up employment.

The new model of school would create better conditions for the pupils' development and decision making as to their future careers, while the knowledge attained by the graduates would facilitate their adaptation to constantly changing social requirements.

3

Employment Policies and Practices

Goals and Instruments of Employment Policy

In the years 1960 to 1970, Polish employment policy had to tackle a very difficult problem. That was the period during which the baby-boom generation was entering the labor force, and the rate of increase in the number of new entrants to the labor market was as follows:

- between 1960 and 1965, 1 million
- between 1966 and 1970, 1.7 million
- between 1971 and 1975, 1.9 million

Employment policy had to adjust to the demographic situation while remaining in close connection with educational policy. There was the problm of directing the baby-boom generation into various types of schools, thus easing pressure on the labor market, as well as of creating conditions for young people to acquire the qualifications that were in demand.

The characteristic feature of employment policy in the years 1960 to 1975 was the development and implementation of employment programs to cater to the increased labor force in accordance with the current and future goals of the economic development of the country. These goals were the full utilization of youthful manpower, effective employment, and constant improvement of the professional qualifications of workers.

Full utilization of manpower means a balance between manpower resources and their absorption by the national economy. Actual manpower—that is, the number of workers and jobseekers—is determined by demographic processes, employment, age, and socioeconomic factors. Of particular importance among socioeconomic factors are investments, wages, respect for labor, professional prestige, development of the education system, improvement of the educational level of the society, development of health service and child-care systems, prolongation of school age or shortening of retirement age, and so forth. Consequently, these factors shape a specific model of occupational activity of the society (the number of economically active people in each age group in relation to the total population). Possibilities of employment are in turn determined by social, technical, and economic factors of the developing economy, including:

- an increase in jobs due to the development of new plants and expansion or modernization of existing ones
- the need to replace manpower losses due to natural causes—deaths, crippling, retirement
- the need to replace manpower losses caused by other factors, such as recruitment for military service, staff mobility, and temporary absence (maternity leaves, sick leaves, and so on)

In planning employment policy, government institutions determine manpower resources, the number of economically active persons, and the number of new entrants to the labor force. Then, according to the birth rate in particular years, they prepare a sufficient number of new jobs. In this way, continuous adjustments can be made in employment to achieve a balance between manpower resources and the opportunities for their utilization in the economy.

In addition to attempting to achieve full employment, emphasis is put on effective employment of manpower—that is, (1) distribution of manpower in accordance with the needs of the national economy and (2) full utilization of the educational attainments and professional qualifications of employees. The policy of effective employment, while granting free choice of occupation and place of work, must at the same time ensure

optimum distribution of employees among particular sectors and regions of the economy (in keeping with predetermined national programs for socioeconomic development of the country) and optimum intensification of work processes. Implementation of the principle of full utilization of occupational qualifications is often difficult because it depends (1) on preparing young people to take up their first job, (2) on the process of their social and occupational adaptation, and (3) on maintaining the correspondence between the occupation young people have been trained for and the occupation they actually work in.

The third goal of employment policy is constantly to improve the qualifications of the working people so that the technical qualifications of employees match the technological development of enterprises. Technological innovations require changes in the occupational structure of employees. Adjustment of qualifications to the demand for specialists in specific fields is often carried out by means of occupational training programs within industrial enterprises. Occupational training policy takes into account both the needs of the enterprise and the interests and abilities of the employees.

Implementation of employment policy goals depends on effective methods of adjusting labor-force supply to demand. The essential problem is to avoid actions that might lead to over- or underemployment and to adopt those that secure a balance between labor-force supply and demand in quantitative and qualitative terms. The following instruments, elaborated below, are used to achieve these employment policy goals.

- manpower balance
- employment planning
- vocational guidance
- labor exchange
- wage policy
- staff policy

Manpower balance consists of information on changes in manpower resources in the whole country: in particular administrative regions, in particular occupations, in the educational levels of the population, in the number of new entrants to the

labor market, in the number of women employees, and so on. It includes information on numbers, distribution, and utilization of the available manpower. Specific manpower-balance information for young people includes:

- the size and structure of the 15-to-17 and 18-to-24 age groups by sex and place of residence
- the number of in-school youth
- youth migration (particularly from rural areas to cities)
- the number of youth remaining on farms
- the number of working youth and their types of employment
- the number of youth out of school and out of work

Information on in-school youth and their fields of study makes possible forecasts of the number of graduates and of future jobs for them as well as of the distribution of youth among particular branches of the economy, regions, occupations, and so forth.

Employment planning is another instrument of employment policy. The first step in employment planning with regard to youth is to determine the number of youth entering employment on the basis of demographic forecasts. The next step is to assess the demand for graduates with particular types of education in specific branches of the economy and administrative regions resulting from the development of industry and services and different growth rates of investments. A final step is to determine the desirable distribution of young people's qualifications by occupation. Consideration must be given to changes over time in occupational categories and in the hierarchy of particular occupations.

Vocational guidance, which has been developing in Poland since 1956, is an instrument of controlling manpower that affects job orientation, young people's choices among the available types of education, and the occupations most advantageous from the point of view of the current needs of the economy. It consists mainly in providing youth with information about educational and employment systems and is therefore a means of affecting the labor market. The aim of vocational guidance is to help individuals choose a school and an occupation by assessing their abilities and informing them of various opportunities of education and employment.

The actions included under vocational guidance cover both advising and instruction. Advising functions include:

- occupational preorientation—that is, informing parents and youth about the problems connected with choices of jobs
- direct advice to young people on the choice of an occupation
- preparation of students for the proper choice of an occupation in accordance with individual interests and the needs of the national economy
- assessment of an individual's suitability for the occupation by means of psychological tests
- advertising certain occupations through mass media

The goal of the vocational guidance institutions' broad program of instruction is to:

- make young people aware of the social utility of every job and of the equal prestige of all occupations
- inform youth about various branches of the national and regional economy
- provide information on types of schools, occupations, specializations, and opportunities for education on higher levels
- point out advantages and disadvantages of working in some occupations
- inform young people what abilities and characteristics are needed in particular occupations and make them aware that everyone can find a suitable job
- let youth know about changes in the structure of occupations—disappearance of some occupations and emergence of new ones
- suggest the choice of occupations particularly important for the national economy
- inform youth about labor-market situations locally and elsewhere (in rural areas and in cities)

The number of vocational guidance institutions has been constantly growing, increasing from 301 in 1970 to 800 in 1975.

Labor exchange is a way for some youth to find their first job. The labor-exchange system is a means to ensure a constant influx of work candidates to the national economy and to

direct the candidates into particular regions and industrial enterprises. The goals of the labor exchange are to:

- direct graduates to preliminary training
- inform job seekers about vacancies in their place of residence or elsewhere
- explain and advise on opportunities of getting a job or of training for one
- assess qualifications of candidates for work
- give preference (in case of two candidates with equal qualifications) to soldiers' wives, sole breadwinners, youth from families with social or financial problems, members of large families, and so on
- organize recruitment of work candidates from outside a particular administrative region
- organize "clearing"—that is, the transfer of people with needed qualifications to other regions where opportunities for employment exist

Wage policy can implement some goals of the employment policy. The level of real wages determines the level of satisfying material and cultural needs of workers and their families. As a result, wages and their differentials (interprofessional, interregional, and so on) affect both the numbers of employed and their disposition. The absolute level of wages and the possibility of satisfying consumption needs affect directly the supply of labor, while conscious regulation of wage differentials affects labor-force distribution according to the structure of demand. Wage differentials are material factors that determine the popularity of particular occupations in the society, putting pressure on well-paid jobs and necessitating regulation of candidates to be trained for them. Regulation of differentials enables the government to control workers' mobility and changes in the employment structure without violating the principle of free choice of work. The determination of wage differentials should be based on the principle of distribution by type of work and according to the needs of the economy as well as the current economic situation. The current needs of the economy and labor market may favor deliberate wage-differentiation policy.

This in turn will cause youth to learn and take up occupations in short supply.

Staff policy implements employment policy goals within a particular enterprise. The main objective of staff policy is to organize recruitment for particular positions and to maintain the optimum employment structure. There are two spheres of activity in organizing recruitment: (1) assessment of actual needs for staff and development of recruitment methods in cooperation with educational institutions, labor-exchange institutions, and so on and (2) formal and legal activities connected with testing the candidates' educational and psychophysical suitability for the job.

Particular tasks of proper recruitment and distribution of staff lie in managing the process of social and occupational adaptation of youth, which contributes to an increase in satisfaction with work stability of personnel. Proper staff policy of the enterprise should encourage workers constantly to improve their qualifications and skills and also to acquire new specializations. Organization of various forms of training is of particular importance in the following cases:

- employment of new workers
- introduction of technological and organizational changes
- opening new production lines
- change of occupation or kind of work
- training practice for pupils (of vocational schools)
- training period for graduates from various types of schools

Stimulating development of young people's qualifications through appropriate staff policy should result in an increased intensity of work, a growth of initiative, a higher degree of integration of employees with their work, an interest in and satisfaction with the job, and an active attitude toward work.

Placement of Youth in Employment

Young people 15 to 24 can be at school, combine school with work, take up work on reaching 18 years of age, be dependent on their parents, or seek a job. The age of taking up work is a function of economic, social, and cultural factors. It depends

mainly on legislation, educational development, and living standards. Young people can be included in employment by both general economic policies and those pertaining specifically to youth. Such policies should lead to:

1. maintaining a balance between the spatial distribution of jobs for young people and youth resources
2. proper utilization of young people's qualifications
3. adjustment of production means to the physical and psychological characteristics of youth
4. achievement of individual aspirations of young people connected with the process of work

Employment of 15- to 17-year-olds. The majority of 15- to 17-year-olds continue education in various postelementary schools (65 percent in 1960 and 73.8 percent in 1975). Those 15- to 18-year-olds who take up work, however, are a special group of employees under legal protection (the Child Protection Law). The 1958 employment act allows teenage employment in order to (1) train teenagers for a particular type of work, (2) train them for an occupation, (3) prepare them for an occupation (apprenticeship), or (4) use them in light seasonal or temporary work.

Training for a particular type of work lasts from three months to one year and is used in cases in which the type of work does not require completion of an occupational training course. Training for an occupation lasts from two to four years and ends with a qualifying examination. Completion of training for a particular type of work or of an occupational training course enables a teenager to be employed as an apprentice for an occupation. Such apprenticeship lasts for a period of two months to two years.

Teenagers who have signed a contract with an enterprise to train for an occupation are called "pupils." Pupils in an enterprise are trained individually or in groups, regardless of whether they attend vocational schools for working people or take part in the training organized within the enterprise. In 1960, 111,000 pupils were employed; in 1965 their number increased to 368,000; in 1970 it was 429,000; and in 1975 it grew to 607,000 (Table 20).

Table 20. Number of young persons receiving on-the-job training, by major industry group, 1960–1975[a] (numbers in thousands)

Year	*Total*	*Manufacturing*	*Construction*	*Agriculture*	*Transport and communications*	*Commerce*	*Housing and utilities*
1960	111.9	81.2	9.0	0.6	2.5	11.6	1.1
1965	368.7	242.8	42.5	8.2	19.4	37.3	5.0
1970	429.4	273.4	68.3	9.4	28.9	27.5	7.4
1975	606.7	314.8	115.6	14.9	52.1	84.9	10.6
Percentage change							
1960–1965	229.5%	199.0%	372.2%	1,266.7%	676.0%	221.6%	354.5%
1965–1970	16.5	12.6	60.7	14.6	49.0	−26.3	48.0
1970–1975	41.3	15.1	69.3	58.5	80.3	208.7	43.2
1960–1975	442.2	287.6	1,184.4	2,383.3	1,984.0	631.9	863.6

[a]Includes persons 15 to 18 as well as some persons over 18 who signed training contracts prior to coming of age and continue training on the contract terms.

Youth 15 to 18 may also be employed in light seasonal and temporary jobs that do not require qualifications. A list of such jobs is issued by the Minister of Education and the Central Council of the Trade Unions.

An important problem of employment policy is to stimulate occupational activity for those youth out of school and out of work. In order to do this, various measures are used to encourage those teenagers to learn an occupation through work, including spreading information through elementary schools, mass media (radio, TV, and youth press), contracts with industrial enterprises, and activities of youth organizations.

Youth organizations arrange Voluntary Labor Corps, which teach occupations and are particularly important in supplementing employment in unremunerative branches of the economy and in urgent work (harvests or the building industry, for example). In 1966, 186 corps were organized, with 6,500 young participants; in 1968, 20,000 young people took part in them; and in the 1970s some 30,000 participated yearly. Between 1970 and 1975, about 162,000 jobs were created at different times for youth out of school and out of work within Voluntary Labor Corps to enable them to acquire occupations.

Employment of 18- to 24-year-olds. On reaching 18 years of age, a young person becomes eligible for taking a full-time job, according to Polish labor law. In the age group there are people who:

- begin work after having completed only elementary education
- are graduates from basic vocational, general secondary schools, secondary vocational schools, and higher education institutions
- are recruited for military service
- do not work

The majority of youth in the first group are those who, prior to coming of age, signed contracts with enterprises to be trained for an occupation or a skill and on reaching 18 years of age continue their training or work on the basis of those contracts. Also included in the first group are those who are employed on the basis of work contracts but do not have the

required qualifications and who are included in training within employment to prepare them for their occupations, to take part in training courses, or to be sent to schools for working people. There are certain rules to be observed on employing this group of workers (Employment Department).

Employment of graduates of basic vocational, general secondary, or secondary vocational schools falls mainly under planned employment, and these graduates are a valuable source of trained manpower. An act was passed in 1964 regulating employment of graduates of higher education institutions in order to (1) secure workers with higher education attainments for various branches of the economy, (2) improve territorial distribution of staff with higher education attainments, and (3) avoid employment of graduates in positions inappropriate for their specialization. The act requires graduates to work for at least three years in enterprises that have the right to employ graduates from a given field of study; at the same time it ensures that graduates will work in their acquired profession. It applies to most studies except for some humanities and the arts. Labor-exchange representatives in institutions of higher learning maintain contact between the graduates and enterprises. Various enterprises apply to schools for graduates. As a rule, the demand is 20 percent higher than the number of graduates, which enables them to choose their place of work. The Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare distributes jobs among departments and they in turn distribute them among enterprises.

The employment plan is implemented by means of (1) agreements on scholarships, (2) preliminary contracts, and (3) by directing the graduates to work. An agreement on scholarship is a specific contract: a student is obligated to take up work with the scholarship providers, who in turn are obliged to pay the scholarship and employ the student on graduation. Students are informed about opportunities for signing an agreement on scholarship by their education institutions, which receive offers from various enterprises.

A preliminary contract is the first step toward signing a regular work contract. In such a contract, a student is bound to take up work in the enterprise with which the contract is

signed and to work there for a period of three years. Preliminary contracts define the duration and terms of employment. Enterprises entitled to employ graudates inform the institutions of higher learning about their preliminary contracts, and the contracts are signed by the students in the last or next-to-last year of studies.

Those students who do not use the above-mentioned opportunities of entering employment are directed to work. They are informed about their prospective employer by the labor-exchange representative in their institution of higher education three months prior to completing studies. Graduates who avoid taking up work with the enterprise they have been directed to are obliged to return half of the cost of their studies—that is, 30,000 to 45,000 zlotys—plus all scholarships received in the course of studies. (The exceptions are the disabled, those recruited for military service, and graduates remaining in their higher education institutioin for a training period.) Once employed, graduates go through a three- to six-month training period that promotes the social and professional adaptation of graduates and acquaints them with the enterprise. After three years of work in a given enterprise, graduates can go to any other enterprise, whether it is entitled to employ higher education graduates or not. Graduates can also break a contract with their enterprise if the latter does not fulfill the terms agreed upon or provided the graduates repay the cost of studies.

A similar system of preliminary contracts has been introduced for vocational school graduates. The contracts are signed by students in the final year of study.

Males 19 to 24 are recruited for two-year military service. For this period they are granted leave from work, but their employers cannot break work contracts with them and are obliged to employ them in the same position or a higher one—depending on the qualifications they acquire in the army—on their return.

Structure of Youth Employment, 1960–1975

Problems of change in the structure of youth employment must be considered within the context of the general changes

in the Polish economy. Between 1964 and 1975, employment increased from 7.1 to 11.4 million—that is, by 59.2 percent. The rate of growth from 1964 to 1970 was higher than from 1971 to 1975 (Table 21), because the baby-boom generation entered the labor market. Full employment did not prove difficult, due to the maximum employment policy carried out by enterprises which, in turn, resulted from extensive economic development of the country. For men, the number of jobs exceeded the number of job seekers, with the exception of 1965 and 1970 (Table 22).

Some tension was noted on the labor market as reflected by a shortage of male workers and and a discrepancy between supply and demand for nonqualified workers, particularly among women job seekers. The number of jobs for women was several times lower than the number of women job seekers, of whom three-fourths had no qualifications.

Employment rose in the years 1965 to 1970 twice as rapidly as in the years 1961 to 1965, exceeding the planned estimates; but in the years 1971 to 1975, the growth in the total number of employees was lower than in 1965 to 1970. This resulted from a decrease in the growth of male and female labor force, intensive economy policy, and an increase in per capita income, which eased the pressure of women on the labor

Table 21. Percentages of employees who completed higher education, vocational education, general secondary education, and basic vocational education, 1964 to 1975

Year	*Total number of employees*	*Percentage of persons who had completed*			
		Higher education	*Vocational education*	*General secondary education*	*Basic Vocational education*
1964	7,137,300	4.3	8.4	4.4	11.0
1968	8,527,900	4.7	11.3	4.5	15.3
1970	9,407,700	5.3	13.6	5.6	17.0
1971	9,834,300	5.4	14.3	5.6	17.8
1972	10,260,400	5.6	14.9	5.7	19.0
1973	10,646,300	5.8	15.3	5.8	19.8
1974	11,124,800	6.0	16.0	6.0	20.6
1975	11,366,400	6.3	16.5	6.1	21.6

Table 22. Total number of persons entering employment, persons seeking jobs, and number of jobs available, for both sexes and for women, 1960 to 1975 (numbers in thousands)

Year	*Persons entering employment*		*Persons seeking jobs*		*Number of jobs available*	
	Total	*Women*	*Total*	*Women*	*Total*	*Women*
1960	1,542.0	482.2	37.4	29.9	46.5	6.8
1965	1,604.5	598.3	62.0	54.5	52.9	12.1
1966	1,669.3	641.9	57.6	52.1	64.2	13.6
1968	1,811.5	700.6	53.1	49.2	76.6	15.8
1970	1,555.1	549.5	79.4	71.3	39.5	8.5
1971	1,766.8	660.2	81.7	74.9	84.2	19.4
1972	2,011.0	787.7	51.8	49.3	93.4	24.6
1973	1,881.1	780.5	28.1	26.8	146.9	41.2
1974	1,730.9	690.2	19.0	17.3	77.7	26.0
1975	1,654.0	623.1	15.2	12.7	94.6	30.1

market. The number of jobs becoming available increased significantly between 1973 and 1975, when it was five times higher than the number of job seekers. That was true for the total number of job seekers and, for the first time in the period in question, for women, whose share in the total number of employees increased markedly, to about 44 percent in 1975 (Table 23).

The structure of employment by level of education also changed in the years 1964 to 1975 as a result of some 4 million graduates from secondary schools and higher education institutions entering the labor force. The percentage of employees with higher education increased from 4.3 to 6.3 percent; of those with general secondary education certificates from 4.4 to 6.1 percent; and of those with secondary and basic vocational education the percentage nearly doubled. The share of employees with only elementary education decreased from 71.9 to 49.5 percent (Table 21).

Economic activity of youth grew markedly over the period in question. The percentage of youth below 24 years of age in total employment increased from 14.5 percent in 1964 to 22.1 percent in 1973 (Table 24); the figures for 15- to 18-year-olds

Table 23. Women as a percentage of total workers, by industry group, 1960–1975

Industry	*1960*	*1965*	*1970*	*1975*
Total	33.0%	36.0%	41.3%	43.9%
Manufacturing industry	30.4	32.0	35.4	39.4
Construction	10.2	13.6	16.1	17.9
Agriculture	20.9	21.2	24.3	20.5
Transport and communication	14.9	17.7	21.0	24.3
Commerce and finance	54.9	60.1	66.5	71.3
Health service	75.3	77.3	81.0	80.9
Education	61.3	65.2	77.0	77.8

Table 24. People under 24 years of age as a percentage of the labor force, by sex, 1964 to 1973

Year	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
1964	14.5%	12.1%	18.8%
1968	17.1	14.0	20.7
1973	22.1	19.0	26.3

were 2.6 percent in 1960 and 4.5 percent in 1975 (Table 25). Women employees below 24 years of age constituted 19 percent of total female employment in 1964 and 26 percent in 1973.

Although the percentage of 15- to 18-year-olds in the total labor force increased, within this age group other changes occurred that were favorable from the point of view of employment policy and economic development. There was (1) an increase in the percentage of youth in school (65 percent in 1960, 74 percent in 1975), (2) a decrease in the percentage of working youth (21 percent in 1960, 18 percent in 1975), and (3) a decrease in the percentage of youth both out of school and unemployed (14 percent in 1960, 8 percent in 1975) (Table 26).

Even though the changes in the second and third groups were not continuous, they suggest a difference in youth attitudes and the growing popularity of prolonged education.

Table 25. Employment of people 15 to 18, both sexes and women, 1960 to 1975

Year	*Total (both sexes)*		*Women*	
	Number (in thousands)	*Percentage of labor force*	*Number (in thousands)*	*Percentage of employed people 15 to 18*
1960	357.2	2.6%	39.1	10.9%
1965	478.8	3.1	91.1	29.0
1970	382.8	3.9	115.1	30.0
1971	402.7	3.9	126.6	31.4
1972	449.1	4.2	149.6	33.3
1975	526.0	4.5	191.4	36.4
Percentage change				
1960–1965	34.0%		133.0%	
1965–1970	–20.1		26.3	
1970–1975	37.4		66.3	
1960–1975	47.3		389.5	

Table 26. **People 15 to 18, by activity status, 1960 to 1975**

Year	*Total persons 15 to 18*		*Percentage employed in national industry*	*Percentage out of school and not employed in national industry*
	Number (in thousands)	*Percentage in school*		
1960	1,695	65.0	21.1	13.9
1965	2,598	73.3	18.4	8.3
1970	2,802	73.4	13.6	13.0
1975	2,850	73.8	18.4	7.8

Economic activity of youth was also conditioned by, among other things, prolongation of elementary education by one year, development of schools, student aid, building new industrial enterprises, the growth of various branches of industry requiring better qualifications, and the exodus of rural youth to cities. There were also some changes in the economic activity of youth in particular age groups. The rate decreased in the 15-to-18 age group, while it increased in the 19-to-24 age group.

The economic activity rate of youth was higher in rural than in urban areas. In 1970, 9 percent of male youth 15 to 17 in the cities were employed, while the corresponding figure for rural areas was 32 percent. For women in the same age group, it was 6 percent in the cities and 31 percent in rural areas. In the 18-to-19 age group, economic activity rates for males were 54 percent in the cities and 66 percent in rural areas and for females, 44 percent and 60 percent, respectively. For males 20 to 24, the rates were 85 percent in the cities and 93 percent in rural areas.

Over the past 15 years, the economic activity rate for women has increased significantly. In 1960, the urban rate for the 20-to-24 age group was 58 percent and in 1970 over 73 percent. Considering that some 10 percent of women studied at that time, the percentage of women out of school and out of work in this age group was only 17 percent.

The number of youth combining work with occupational training has also been growing (Table 27). In 1960, 31 percent of employed youth 15 to 18 were trained within employment, and in 1975 the percentage grew to nearly 94 percent. This growth reveals the tendency among working youth to use the opportunities to improve their qualifications.

Table 27. Employed people 15 to 18 receiving on-the-job training, 1960 to 1975 (numbers in thousands)

Year	*Employed people 15 to 18*	*On-the-job training*	
		Number	*Percentage*
1960	357.2	111.9	31.1
1965	478.8	368.7	77.0
1970	382.8	335.5	87.6
1975	526.0	493.7	93.9

Employment of pupils receiving training in particular sectors of the economy is shown in Table 20. The term "pupils" covers both youth 15 to 18 who have signed contracts to train for an occupation or a skill and youth over 18 who also have signed contracts to train for an occupation or a skill prior to

coming of age and who continue training on the contract terms.

The number of youth training for an occupation or skill was six times higher in 1975 than in 1960. Most pupils were employed in manufacturing (81,000 in 1960 and 315,000 in 1975). In terms of numbers, the rate of increase in manufacturing was very high, but in percentage terms rates of increase in other sectors of the economy were even higher. The increase in number of trainees achieved in the years 1960–1965 was much higher than that in 1965–1970 and 1970–1975.

The largest numbers of qualified workers entering work are 18- to 24-year-old graduates from vocational schools. In the years 1965 to 1970, 1.8 million graduates from secondary schools and higher education institutions took up work, and in the years 1970 to 1975 their number grew to 2.5 million. About 210,000 graduates from higher education institutions, 106,000 graduates from postelementary schools, and over 1.7 million graduates from vocational schools began work in the years 1970 to 1975 (Table 28).

Most young people 15 to 18 were employed in industry, building, trade and finance, and transport and communication. Youth employment in building was three times higher in 1975 than in 1965 and in trade and transport it was nearly 2.5 times higher (Table 29). Youth employment in agriculture decreased gradually over the period in question from 19,500 in 1965 to

Table 28. New entrants to employment from postelementary schooling, 1970 to 1975 (numbers in thousands)

		Graduates from				
Year	*Total*	*Higher education*	*Postsecondary*	*Vocational*	*General secondary*	*Basic vocational*
1970	315.7	30.0	19.5	82.5	34.9	148.7
1971	378.1	32.3	19.7	87.9	34.0	204.2
1972	417.7	39.0	13.1	87.5	46.6	231.5
1973	445.9	38.1	15.2	95.9	48.9	247.8
1974	444.2	36.9	17.4	99.0	45.7	245.2
1975	444.0	33.1	21.5	100.5	44.1	244.8

Table 29. Employment of youth 15 to 18, by industry group, 1965 to 1975 (numbers in thousands)

Industry	*1965*	*1970*	*1975*	*Percentage change 1965–1975*
Total	478.8	382.8	526.0	9.9
Manufacturing	219.0	226.2	254.6	16.3
Construction	31.8	55.6	95.6	200.6
Agriculture and forestry	19.5	15.5	16.2	-16.9
Transport and communications	21.3	30.7	50.0	34.7
Commerce and finance	37.5	40.3	92.2	145.9
Housing and utilities	5.6	8.6	10.7	91.1
Public administration	4.9	3.9	6.7	36.7

16,000 in 1975. In some sectors of the economy women employees predominated. In 1975, they constituted 90 percent of total employment in health services, 77 percent in education, 81 percent in finance, 74 percent in trade, and 60 percent in the judiciary.

Some youth 15 to 18 stay out of employment and out of school. Because they pose an important social problem, they are registered by appropriate educational institutions that help them return to school or acquire an occupation through work. Some 40 percent of these young people are elementary school dropouts who do not have any qualifications and who do not take up any occupation. Leading idle lives, they become demoralized and often commit criminal offenses. Some do not take up further education or employment after elementary school until they are recruited for the military service (at the age of 19). It is difficult to determine the size of the group, particularly in rural areas, because some young people help their parents on private farms, either permanently or periodically, without being employed elsewhere.

In the years 1960 to 1975, the number of youth out of employment and out of school decreased steadily. In 1960, some 10 percent of the city youth 15 to 18 belonged to this group; in 1965, their proportion was 8 percent and in 1970 only 6 percent. In 1972, the total number of youth 15 to 18

registered as out of employment and out of school was 51,000, of whom 24,500 were girls; in 1973 the number fell to 35,000 (by 32 percent), and in 1974 it further decreased to 27,000 (by nearly 50 percent in comparison with 1972). In 1973, about 65 percent of these young people were directed to schools to attend occupational training courses, and about 24 percent were directed to on-the-job occupational training or to Voluntary Labor Corps.

The Voluntary Labor Corps were established in 1958 upon the initiative of youth organizations, and their main goal has been to educate and prepare for work those youth 15 to 24 who for various reasons stay out of work and out of school. The corps seems to have contributed to the significant drop in the number of youth out of school and out of work in the 1970s.

The 1960–1975 employment policy, whose main goal was to absorb all youth into the labor market and to provide conditions for full and effective employment of the baby-boom generation, has proved successful owing to the combination of employment policy with the general strategy of the economic development of the country and to the extension of the network of various schools and forms of vocational education of youth. The problem of geographic mobility of youth from areas with a labor surplus to those deficient in labor was also solved. However, this mobility had some negative effects on individual farms; as a result of the influx of rural youth to cities, many farms remained in the hands of elderly people unable to cope with agriculture. In recent years, youth gradually have been returning to the country, prompted by some favorable changes in development and mechanization of agriculture introduced by the state. There also occurred some difficulties regarding employment of women, who acquired occupations traditionally thought of as male. Reluctance of some enterprises to employ them has not been completely overcome. Finally, although all young job seekers were employed, the actual employment was not always in keeping with the planned employment.

There is still much to be done about effective use of youth resources, particularly in view of the expected decline of the population of 15- to 24-year-olds and the drying up of labor-

force entrants. Numerous studies carried out among youth have revealed that they are not always employed in accordance with their previous training and that young people often feel that their qualifications have not been properly utilized. However, the policy of planned employment of graduates from secondary schools and higher education institutions has improved the distribution of qualified staff in some less-developed regions of the country.

The level of education of employees improved over the period in question, while the employment structure created favorable conditions for the development of particular branches of the national economy. It is expected that the 4 million young people—better qualified and better prepared for work—who have entered employment in the past 10 years will speed up the economic development of the country, and the tremendous sums invested in youth education and creation of new jobs for them will bring the expected social and economic benefits.

Projected Employment of Graduates

The instruments of employment policy discussed in the preceding sections do not always find practical application, however justified they may be from the theoretical point of view. Institutional activity does not always keep pace with changing reality, and thus there occur some flaws in the policy of effective employment of youth. Imperfect methods of manpower planning do not always consider the future structure of the economy, based on a more modern technology, and thus lead to periodic surpluses or shortages of specialists in a given field.

A disadvantage of the existing employment methods is that demand for qualified staff is expressed mainly in quantitative terms, without taking into account the educational standard of the graduates. A rational policy of employment should ensure not only a sufficient number of qualified staff but also their good quality in accordance with economic needs. The ability of workers to improve their qualifications, or even to qualify for a new job, is also significant. However, the qualitative aspect of planning is difficult to achieve. It has often been

hard to find the right people for implementation of planned socioeconomic goals, even though quantitative aspects of labor demand and supply have been observed. There have been many cases of graduates' qualifications being insufficiently utilized or of jobs being taken by people with inadequate preparation for them.

The faults of the educational system and of manpower planning are often accompanied by faulty adjustments of graduates' employment. Planned employment of graduates is based on:

- current information on the number of vacancies as well as the number and qualifications of the students graduating in a particular year, including both local and national data
- the referral of graduates to regions and enterprises of particular significance to the economy
- an individual approach to graduates that considers their personal situations, interests, and aspirations and creates additional privileges for outstanding graduates

Although since 1964 some 90 percent of graduates from higher education institutions and more than 50 percent from secondary vocational schools have been included in a system of planned employment, the goal of which is a rational and even distribution of qualified staff in the national economy and culture, there have been many faults in its implementation.

Surveys carried out in the early 1970s among recent graduates from institutions of higher education and also among selected groups of people who graduated in 1965 and 1966 revealed that the goals of the planned employment of graduates have not been fully achieved: 25 percent of graduates were employed in jobs incompatible with their field of studies, often resulting from the wrong choice of studies and the lack of opportunity to change them. Both the haphazard choice of studies and the training for occupations for which they were unsuited often led to dissatisfaction with work, unfavorable attitudes to work, and frequent job changing.

Many graduates had difficulties in the transition from school to work. Generally speaking, they had imagined their

future job to be much better than it actually was in terms of wages, organization of work, and human relations. A clash between ideals and reality at work proved a traumatic experience for 40 percent of graduates; 47 percent pointed to an incomplete utilization of their abilities and knowledge in professional work; and 44 percent of graduates criticized the educational system and complained about insufficient specialist knowledge or information about the principles of work organization.

The graduates' critical remarks reveal discrepancies between their education and professional activities and their qualifications and utilization. This state of affairs calls for a further improvement in the system of choice of profession as well as in teaching methods and employment mechanisms. It can be expected that the number of youth dissatisfied with their work would then decrease, which in turn would increase the social and individual effectiveness of education.

4

Youth Subculture

Aspirations, Life Goals, Values, and Attitudes

Research carried out in the 1960s and 1970s on adolescents has shown a considerable increase in their aspirations, mainly concerning the standard of education and character of work. Adolescents recognize education and employment as instruments for attaining life targets, such as a suitable social position and an occupation satisfying material needs as well as the personal need to feel socially useful. The endeavor to acquire education and raise their qualifications has been a characteristic of most young people in the years 1960 to 1975.

The increase in aspirations has been shown both by a jump up several steps of the social ladder compared with the education and position of their parents and by the belief among youth that after attaining one standard of education one can and should try to go higher. This has been confirmed by the increase in the number of students attending several types of school and by the dynamic development of schools for working youth.

Many young people, who at the age of 18 were satisfied with vocational schools, later return to secondary evening technical schools to realize their higher aspirations. Many of them decide to reenter education on the university level and to obtain a diploma. Fifty percent of the 18-to-24 age group expresses a desire to continue education. The endeavor to achieve a higher level of education may be spread over a considerable period of time; in the existing system of education,

individual initiative determines when and whether a student will reach the next stage.

In the hierarchy of aspirations of young people, highest priority is given to completion of their education and finding an occupation congruent with their personal interests, followed by the desire to have a happy family, and then by material prosperity and a high position. Specifically, in a survey of young people, the following goals were expressed:

- self-improvement, acquiring education and a position in the chosen occupation, satisfaction with work and social recognition (30 percent)
- happiness in family life (14 percent)
- advance in social life (8 percent)
- doing something great, achieving fame (6 percent)
- material prosperity (3 percent)

About 81 percent of those who answered stated that the attainment of the desired target in life depended on themselves, on their perseverance, strong character, right selection, wit, and so forth; and about 10 percent stated that they counted on help from their relatives, friends, and favorable circumstances.

The hierarchy of life targets differs among socioeconomic groups. For example, working youth strive in the first place to have a happy family rather than to be successful in work, while rural youth believe more in material prosperity than in acquiring education. An analysis of the system of evaluation and the attitudes of youth in particular groups may determine the specific standards, codes of behavior, interests, and attempts that make up the youth subculture. Even though a certain system of evaluation has been accepted by the majority of the young, their hierarchy of values differs according to whether they are from the working or peasant classes, pupils in secondary schools, technical schools, or higher education, or youth who have failed to adjust.

The personal characteristics mostly prized by the young are of three types:

- values of character (honesty, strong will, righteousness, ambition)
- values of intellect (wisdom, versatile knowledge, intelligence, specialization)

- values ensuring good performance (resourcefulness, hard work, the gift of creating good relations)

The studies carried out in the 1970s by S. Nowak* among youth in two large cities have shown that the scale of values in Polish society is to a great extent uniform not only among youth but also within the society as a whole. There are no great conflicts in the scale of values between the young and their parents. The younger generation has to a considerable degree adjusted to the values of its elders; and the young of the 1970s have no tendencies toward revolutionary change compared with the generation of the 1960s. This is also reflected in the current desire to live a peaceful and happy life in an accepted system of values, directed more inward than outward.

The difference between children and their parents lies mainly in the sphere of manners and morals. Here the generational conflict appears mainly with regard to sex, religion, marriage, and expectations from work. The attitudes and sexual behavior of young people differ to a very great degree from those of the older generation. Research has shown that during the past 20 years there have appeared considerable changes in sexual behavior and in standards of ethics. The most symptomatic changes include:

- beginning of sexual activity before marriage (about 90 percent of boys and 70 percent of girls, though the great majority of the girls start their premarital sexual life with their future husbands)
- a decrease in the age when sexual relations are first experienced to approximately 18 to 19 for men and 19 to 20 for women; this also depends on the standards of education, as youth with higher education begin sexual relations somewhat later (usually over 22 years of age)
- the fact that sexual life follows a prolonged period of "going out together" and becomes an element of youth subculture
- the general belief that religious injunctions are not an important factor influencing sexual behavior

*S. Nowak, "Niedaleko od jabloni" ("Not Far from the Apple Tree"), *Polityka*, No. 15, 1976.

During the past 20 years, a change has occurred in young people's attitudes toward religion. Studies carried out in this respect have shown that between 1965 and 1973, 80 percent of the young people declared themselves to be religious, although the degree of belief differed in particular groups. Only about 40 percent, however, both believe and practice, while the remaining 40 percent defining themselves as believers do not take part in religious practices and are not directed in life by moral standards resulting from religious doctrine.

Religious attitudes differ according to the standard of education, social background, type of family upbringing, environment, and the like. Research has shown a constant process of secularization of youth. This mainly refers to the code of behavior in life, differing from the religious standards regarding sexual life, abortion, etc.

The attitudes of youth toward the family differ from those of their parents. During the past few years, a certain evolution of attitudes may be noticed. The majority of young people marry for love, and the age of marriage is slowly lowering. The family model is also undergoing certain changes, both in the husband's role in the family and in family planning. Most young couples intend to have one or two children, and only about 10 percent would like to have more. This results in part from the employment of women: over 70 percent of women in the 20-to-24 age group are employed, and about 80 percent of women not engaged in physical work return to work after maternity leave. This increases a sense of partnership between young couples and makes the man take a larger share in housework and in bringing up the children.

Choice of Occupation and Attitudes Toward Work

Free choice of occupation is a generally accepted principle among contemporary youth. Though the decision is influenced by many factors, friends exert the greatest influence, while parental influence has become much more limited. The school no longer plays any considerable role in this respect. Young people choose their occupation mainly on the basis of their own interests and talents, persuasion of their schoolmates, and

examples from their peer group, as well as from knowledge of the character of their future occupation and information about the emoluments and social prestige of the work.

The aspirations of young people show a growing tendency toward occupations necessitating secondary and higher education and away from those requiring physical work. In the 1970s the most popular occupations among the pupils of secondary technical schools are electrotechnics, telecommunication, and mechanics. In many cases, however, the choice of occupation is accidental; about 25 percent of youth consider themselves as having no other opportunity. The social consequences of these accidental choices are very great, because young people complain that they are dissatisfied with their work and often change jobs. Proper or improper choice of occupation thus determines future attitudes toward work.

In recent years, the task of proper occupational orientation has been undertaken by several advisory bodies and technical schools, but it is at present difficult to evaluate the effects. Schools, advisory bodies, and institutions dealing with employment try to help young people individually to reconcile their personal abilities and interests with the national economy's need for particular specialists. They determine the occupational aptitudes of the candidates and give information on the kinds of work and the opportunities of employment in particular occupations. The most recent tendency has been to entrust the schools themselves with the task of advising the pupils about future occupations.

Among the motives influencing the choice of further education connected with the future occupation, young people most often mention the prospect of interesting work, the interest and popularity of particular specializations, the facilities for receiving proper education in this field, and the possibility of high earnings. A large percentage of young people undertake further education for family reasons or because of the proximity and accessibility of some school. Some have no special motivation except for the sake of learning itself, to prolong the period before work, or to avoid military service. The education system, the mass media, and youth organizations may form or change

attitudes of the younger generation toward different occupations. These institutions are an important link in directing young people to the selection of an occupation that will not only be profitable and satisfying to the individual but also to society as a whole.

Selection of an occupation and of the first job are significant events in the life of a young person, and a great deal of care is taken to ensure compatibility of this job with the individual's education and qualifications. Tests have shown that incompatibility of job and qualifications not only causes social losses but affects attitudes toward work in general, especially in cases in which young people do not feel useful. Contemporary youth expect much more from their occupations than their elders did. Above all they want to believe that their qualifications are being properly used and that they perform independent and responsible work in which they may show what they can do. Most decidedly, young people take up their first job with lively enthusiasm and great expectations, which disappear only too often if the work does not come up to their expectations.

The young generation's attitude toward work in the past was influenced by the character of the activities (the more complicated, the more responsible) and by the compatibility of activities with educational attainments, the system of promotion, and the process of occupational adaptation (based on the conviction of the need for further specialization, self-improvement, and innovation). If these conditions could not be fulfilled, dissatisfaction with work led to attempts to change jobs and made youth passive with regard to work. Nowadays, the active attitude of young people toward work is caused to a great extent by the opportunity to show initiative even more than by higher earnings.

Leisure

Leisure depends on whether young people study or work or do both. Young people in rural areas and those who both work and study have the least free time. Youth in some schools are overloaded with classes, and about 40 percent of young people

attending general technical schools must commute, thus wasting approximately two hours daily on travel. Young people who only work are in a much better position, because they can spend their leisure time freely. There are various ways of spending leisure time, depending on personal interests, standards of education and occupation, place of residence, and current fashions among young people. Among the most popular forms of leisure, pupils from secondary schools listed the following in sequence: reading books and magazines (44 percent), the cinema (38 percent), radio (36 percent), television (26 percent), sports and tourism (23 percent), and the theater (19 percent). This order of preference differs according to the age of the pupil and type of school attended. Those 15 to 18 read more books, while those 18 to 24 spend more time reading magazines and journals. About 70 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds state that they read at least six books a year, and about 75 percent listen to the radio about two hours daily. The most popular forms of leisure among students in higher education are first going to the cinema and then sports and tourism.

The ways of spending free time also depend on the upbringing and the patterns existing in the background; for example, youth from the working class or in general technical schools spend more time among their friends in large or small groups. A large group of youth spend their free time in various kinds of clubs at schools or places of employment. In 1970, there were over 8,000 clubs, with over 200,000 members, connected with various creative and artistic amateur movements. Film discussion clubs, singing and dancing ensembles, and the like are particularly popular among higher education students. Various youth organizations, to which about 45 percent of young people belong, organize forms of spending free time, especially sports and tourism. These organizations sponsor sport clubs in towns, villages, factories, student campuses, and so forth.

Social Pathology of Youth

Besides young people who work and study, there are small groups of youth who are not adjusted and as a result cause

serious social problems. Fortunately, there has been a steady decrease in their number. In 1972 there were about 51,000 maladjusted youth; in 1973 their number was 35,000; and in 1975 it was only 27,000. Ninety percent of these young people are individuals who dropped out of school and did not enter any employment.

In addition, some youth are misfits (young people who have "gone wrong"). Most come from difficult family backgrounds (family members are often also from the "social margin"), experience difficulties at school, and sometimes end up in criminal circles.

The problems of social maladjustment and criminal behavior of youth have been widely studied by sociologists and psychologists. The term "maladjusted" or "morally neglected" refers to young people who constantly break certain basic rules of social coexistence. The phenomena resulting from maladjustment belong to social pathology and are socially dysfunctional and harmful. Classification of some phenomena as derivations from the norm is relative and refers to a specific social system and values accepted within that system. Pathological forms of behavior among youth are those considered abnormal for this group in the society. Some symptoms of maladjustment and pathological behavior in school youth are, for example: irregular school attendance, dropping out of school, improper behavior at school, aggressive behavior, use of alcohol, or committing criminal offenses. In case of older youth, the symptoms of maladjustment include: various forms of indictable offenses (theft, burglary, homicide), alcoholism and drug addiction, suicide and self-injury, nervous and psychological impairments, sexual deviations (prostitution, sexual perversion), and other forms of dysfunctional behavior (divorce, abortion, illegitimate births).

In the years 1960 to 1975, juvenile delinquency did not tend to grow. The number of court sentences in the 17-to-24 age group did not increase; in fact, it decreased in the 1970s (compared with the 1960s) even though the number of people in this age group increased in relation to the total population.

In 1960, the number of 17- to 20-year-olds sentenced by a court was 24 percent higher than in 1970, and that of 20- to 24-year-olds more than 50 percent higher. The following figures indicate numbers of youths sentenced for indictable offenses:

	Age	
Year	*17–20*	*20–24*
1960	42,073	43,940
1965	33,597	34,657
1970	33,931	27,808
1974	32,379	27,572

At the same time the numbers declined, the delinquency rates per 1,000 inhabitants in this age group also declined:

	Age	
Year	*17–20*	*21–24*
1963	21.1	21.9
1970	12.6	12.4
1975	12.2	11.1

Males constituted over 90 percent of the total number of court-sentenced 17- to 24-year-olds. The number sentenced per 1,000 17- to 20-year-old males dropped from 47.3 in 1960 to 28.2 in 1965, 26.1 in 1970, and 23.6 in 1973. For the 21-to-24 age group the figures were: 42.4 in 1960, 33.0 in 1965, 26.0 in 1970, and 21.8 in 1973.

The incidence of homicide among youth is shown in the following figures:

	Age	
Year	*15–19*	*20–24*
1960	20	50
1970	31	32
1973	19	34

The homicide ratio per 100,000 population in each age group was:

	Age	
Year	*15–19*	*20–24*
1960	1.1	2.3
1970	0.3	1.1
1973	0.5	1.0

Thus, the homicide rate fell for all youth 15 to 24 years of age.

Suicide, an extreme case of self-destructive pathology, has been studied by sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and lawyers. Various studies on suicide problems have attempted to determine the connection between suicide and sociodemographic structure, economic development of the country, social mobility, personality features, and the like. The primary causes of death of 15- to 24-year-olds are accidents, suicide, and homicide—these three constituting 50 percent of all deaths in this age group. Suicide occurs 12 times more often than homicide, the incidence of the latter being relatively small. The number of youth suicides grew significantly in the years 1960 to 1970, as shown below:

	Age	
Year	*15–19*	*20–24*
1960	118	28
1970	243	368
1973	284	463

The suicide rate per 100,000 persons in each age group was:

	Age	
Year	*15–19*	*20–24*
1960	6.1	9.4
1970	7.0	13.0
1973	8.1	14.2

Statistics are also available for suicidal attempts, which also grew among 15- to 20-year-olds in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s. In 1960 their number was 150, rising to 208 in 1965, to 475 in 1970, and to 531 in 1971. After that it decreased gradually to 475 in 1973, 441 in 1974, and 414 in 1975.

Most suicides in Poland are committed in the 31-to-50 age group (nearly three times more often than in the 15-to-20 age group). Suicide ratios for men are much higher than those for women. For example, in 1973 the suicide ratio for the whole group of 15- to 19-year-olds was 8.1 per 100,000 population, and for men it was 12.3. Similarly, for the whole group of 20- to 24-year-olds it was 14.2, and for men it was 24.4.

Marital status and place of residence were found to be related to suicidal behavior. The suicide ratio for the widowed and divorced was higher than for single persons. The suicide ratio was also slightly higher for urban youth than for rural youth (9.6 and 6.3 per 100,000 population in the age group, respectively).

Surveys have revealed that a great number of suicides among youth were connected with alcohol use. The predominant ways of committing suicide in the 15-to-24 age group were hanging and strangulation (some 72 percent of the total). Next came gas poisoning (11 percent), drowning (4 percent), drug poisoning (4 percent), and explosives (3.5 percent).

The nearly twofold increase in suicides in the 15-to-24 age group in 1973 as compared with 1960 caused serious concern. Surveys have revealed that the main reasons for suicide are the difficulties young people have in adapting to family and social conditions that have changed due to intergenerational and intragenerational social mobility. In most cases, suicide was caused by a combination of various family and school troubles. Most numerous suicides were committed by young people in a state of prolonged conflict with their parents. Second numerous were those committed by young people unable to cope with school. The two causes often overlapped.

Alcoholism among youth is a matter of constant study and concern as one of the most serious cases of social pathology, as well as a cause of many offenses committed by young people. The use of alcohol among youth has been constantly growing, but studies have revealed that the large amounts of alcohol used by 18- to 20-year-olds do not differ from the average used by adults.

5

Summary

In the preceding chapters, we have tried to present the situation of Polish youth in the years from 1960 to 1975 on the basis of changes in the demographic structure of the 15-to-24 age group as well as in education and employment policies for this age group. The analysis has been supplemented by a presentation of some elements of the subculture typical of this age group and reflected in the accepted system of values, norms, and principles of behavior, as well as in attitudes toward life and work. Some phenomena connected with maladjustment of youth and leading to social pathology have also been discussed.

Our analysis allows the following conclusions to be drawn. First, the years 1960 to 1975 were characterized by the largest increase in the number of 15- to 24-year-olds in the whole post-World-War II period due to the 1946–1952 baby boom. The share of this age group in the total population increased by 62 percent, while total population grew by approximately 13 percent during the period. In addition, migration of youth from rural areas to cities increased significantly, at an annual rate of 100,000 people, or nearly one-third of rural youth.

In 1967, the requirement of eight years of compulsory schooling was introduced. The percentage of youth continuing education after elementary school rose from 78 to 94 percent. Of these, the number of secondary school youth grew two times and that of higher education students two-and-a-half

times. The largest increase, however, occurred in the number of vocational school youth: vocational school graduates grew four times (twice as much as higher education graduates). In general, the level of education of 15- to 24-year-olds was higher than that of the preceding generations.

The following observations may be made about working youth: the number of all working youth enrolled in some kind of education increased three times, while the share of employed working class youth in various types of schools grew from 27 to 39 percent. In addition, working youth had more opportunities to train for an occupation or a skill; 31 percent of 15- to 18-year-olds attended training courses in 1960, and in 1970 this proportion rose to 94 percent.

More youth were able to continue education as a result of the unprecedented growth of the education system. As indications of this development, we note that government expenditures on education increased more than twofold. The number of students receiving financial aid from the state was twice as high in 1975 as in 1970.

The level of education of the labor force rose substantially, owing to the inflow of a young generation characterized by more years of schooling; in 1964, some 4.3 percent of employees had completed higher education, and by 1975 the percentage had grown to 6.3. The percentage of employees with secondary vocational education grew from 8.4 to 16.5, and those with basic vocational education increased from 11 to 21.6. The percentage of employees with only elementary education dropped from 70 to 49 percent.

There were also developments in the economic sector. Due to the various instruments of employment policy and to the dynamic economic growth of Poland, new entrants to the labor market were ensured jobs. A significant number of these new entrants acquired occupational qualifications outside the regular school system, mainly during compulsory military service and in Voluntary Labor Corps. In the years 1970 to 1975, the total of these new entrants was 2.5 million secondary and higher education graduates. The employment structure continued to

change in line with long-term trends, that is, employment in industry, building, commerce, and transport continued to rise, while in agriculture it continued to decline. Except for 1970, the number of jobs always exceeded the number of youthful job seekers.

For women there were also a number of changes. The number of women in secondary schools increased three times and in institutions of higher education four times; by 1974, women constituted 72 percent of secondary school attendance and 52 percent of higher education students. Their economic activity increased significantly also: in 1964 women constituted some 36 percent of total employment, while in 1975 it was 44 percent. Women composed more than 70 percent of employees in health services, education, administration and finance, and commerce. In general, the level of education of women employees in the 18-to-24 age group was higher than that of men in the same group.

With respect to the youth culture, the system of values of the young generation is more uniform than ever before. Aspirations of youth and their parents regarding higher levels of education showed a great increase, while changes in youth attitudes towards religion, sex, and the family occurred gradually. There were some changes in occupation orientation and expectations from work—for example, a reluctance to take up manual work and a desire to be employed in a position that gives the chance to use one's education and abilities fully and to get satisfaction from the work itself. The most popular leisure activities of 18- to 24-year-olds are reading books and magazines, going to the cinema, watching TV, participating in sports, and tourism. Youth organizations play an important role in organizing spare-time activities.

Finally, during the period under investigation the number of youth both out of school and out of work decreased significantly. In addition, the number of socially maladjusted youth also decreased, as reflected in a declining number of court sentences. On the negative side, suicide and alcoholism are two predominant and increasing phenomena of youth social

pathology. But for the most part, despite the difficult demographic situation, the majority of young people manage to complete secondary education, acquire a profession, and finally find a job. Although quite a lot is still to be done in the areas of better education and the utilization of youth resources, we can now say that the Polish government policies of 1960 to 1975 concerning youth were successful.